



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Thursday
12 December 1991

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Central African Economic Union Summit Ends

AB1012134491 Bangui Radiodiffusion-Television -
Centrafricaine Radio in French 1800 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] The 27th summit of the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa, UDEAC, which was held in Libreville, Gabon, this year has ended. Our special correspondent in Libreville, Georges Maley-Mbassa, reports.

[Begin recording] The 27th UDEAC heads of state and government meeting that began yesterday afternoon at 1300 at the conference hall of the Renovation Palace, Libreville, ended two hours later, at 1500. Gabonese President Omar Bongo chaired the heads of state and government meeting. Present with him were Presidents Paul Biya of Cameroon and Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo of Equatorial Guinea. As you are aware, our country, the Central African Republic, was represented at the summit by Mr. Edouard Franck, prime minister and head of government, who personally represented the president of the Republic, General Andre Kolingba. Chad was also represented by its prime minister, Mr. Jean Bawoyeu Alingue, while Congo sent its minister of economy and planning, Mr. Edouard Babacas, as its representative.

The Gabonese president, who is the outgoing UDEAC chairman, refused to make any speeches both at the opening and closing of the meeting. He said no speeches would be made because the 1991 session was one of austerity and the revitalization of UDEAC which is currently experiencing a deep economic and financial crisis. In short, the Gabonese president added that UDEAC is on the verge of bankruptcy, and that the current session which also commemorates UDEAC's 27th anniversary, should revive the union and give it a new life. He said the Libreville summit should be a summit to save UDEAC. To achieve this, each member state should make a maximum effort to revitalize the organization. In other words, UDEAC should be restructured, beginning with the reduction in excess personnel, and with the redefinition of the management rules for the correct running of the union.

The final communique, which was read at the end of the meeting by Mr. Ambroise Foalem, outgoing UDEAC secretary general, confirmed the political will and determination of the states to revitalize UDEAC. As nothing can be achieved from mere wishes, appropriate measures were taken at the end of the UDEAC summit to foster a revival of the union. The major decision concerned the departure of Mr. Ambroise Foalem from the post of secretary general after nine years of service. His position went to another Cameroonian, Mr. (Takayi Kamdung Thomas). Authority was given to the standing committee comprising ministers of finance or commerce to convene an extraordinary session in April 1992 to adopt a new personnel schedule and a new working method.

The next UDEAC heads of state and government meeting will be held in Malabo, Equatorial Guinea, in

December 1992, and the Equatorial Guinean president, Teodoro Obiang Nguema, will be UDEAC chairman in January 1992.

A banquet held in the ballroom of the Renovation Palace last night beautifully rounded off the 27th UDEAC summit in Libreville. [end recording]

* Strife in Somalia, Ethiopia, Kenya Viewed

92AF0158 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
22, 23 Nov 91

[Two-Part Article by Sayyid Ahmad Khalifah: "Political Labor Phenomenon in Horn of Africa; Kenya Rejects Plurality To Avoid Fate of Totalitarian Regimes; Domination by Ethiopia's Minority Founded on Majority's Division; Somalia Living in State of Disunity, Division; Government Subject to Will of Whoever Holds Rifle"]

[22 Nov p 5]

[Text] Addis Ababa, Nairobi: AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—A comparison is difficult, and I mean a comparison between three East African capitals: Addis Ababa, Nairobi, and Mogadishu—the miserable capital or the capital afflicted with greater misery—if we note that Addis Ababa is also afflicted with misery or semi-misery. But I had to make this comparison while traveling across Addis Ababa after having spent a number of days there on my way to Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, through Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, which lives in a climate of political conflict that, I believe, is developing negatively in its demand for political plurality, which is rejected by Kenyan President arap Moi and the alliance that rules with him.

President arap Moi's argument for rejecting plurality is his fear of a fate similar to Somalia's fate, primarily, and to Ethiopia's fate, secondly. But the domestic and external forces that oppose the Kenyan president, who is almost besieged politically, and that demand plurality tell him that the single-party system did not prevent the dangers of tribal growth and explosion in either Ethiopia or in Somalia. They say that, inversely, Siad Barre's totalitarian regime, with all its slogans, flip-flops, and internal and external alliances, has been tantamount to a lid which repressed tribal conditions, which have now exploded after more than 20 years of talk about fighting tribalism or alleging that it has been wiped out in the name of scientific socialism and its slogans, which have washed over the Somali people!

They—meaning arap Moi's opponents who press for democracy and plurality—also say that Ethiopia's experience with imperial totalitarianism during Haile Selassie's era, and that "progressive" totalitarianism during Mengistu's era, has not been better than the Somali experience, which has turned the tribal reality into fool's gold—gold that has been melted and made more glittering by all the burning and blazing fires of the totalitarian experiences!

Before we embark on Kenya, the comparison dictates that we review Ethiopia's conditions as compared to the conditions in Somalia, which is now our objective and destination after an interesting previous visit to its farthest reaches and its forests. An interview with Siad Barre raised, by necessity, the importance of meeting and interviewing the Somali factions that fight each other in Mogadishu and disagree on all issues, except their fear of Siad Barre and the great efforts they are making to get ready to repel him if he tries to approach Mogadishu, the capital. Were it not for the pride of the two factions of the Hawiyye, namely the Abgal and the Habar Ghidir, this capital would cry longingly and nostalgically, if not for Siad Barre, then for the years of tranquillity and stability which contrast with all the devastation, destruction, chaos, aimlessness, and humiliation under which Somali people live inside and outside their country.

Drowning Kenya

I had left the Ethiopian capital only about 24 hours before heading for the capital of Somalia, passing through Nairobi, which is drowned in its rains, news, political scandals, and public secrets.

The Ethiopian capital is swarming with those who were prevented from visiting it in the past. Dozens of citizens of various ethnic groups who were crowding the capital's hotels, villas, and apartments have told me that this was their first visit to Addis Ababa, the capital, in their entire life.

Because of their old policy, which opposed Haile Selassie's and Mengistu's regimes, some of these people were even prohibited from visiting their rural districts that are remote from Addis Ababa.

Nature has graced the Ethiopian capital with splendid sights and beautiful scenery in both summer and winter, and the international community has honored it by establishing many of its major institutions on its soil.

The Organization for African Unity [OAU], with its elegant main building, is there; offices of the UN Economic Commission are there; the activities of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization [FAO] are there; the World Council of Churches complex is also there. Moreover, Addis Ababa has a most magnificent worship center in one of its pretty spots, meaning the al-Anwar Mosque, which is one of the biggest and the most beautiful houses of worship in this area that is crowded with an oppressed and neglected "Islamic majority." This Islamic majority is besieged by capabilities and perils which have reversed the mathematical rule, with the privileges and predominance reverting to the minority at the majority's expense. This is something which the new developments and the new reality in Ethiopia are trying to correct. But how?

The majority of the Oromos, who are the biggest, most numerous, and most significant ethnic group in Ethiopia, is Muslim. This majority is now trying to correct

the situation with an effort that clearly seeks to unite the Oromo Muslims and to create solidarity among them; not against anybody, or to provoke anybody, or devour his rights, but to correct the upturned historical situation and to block the path of new dangers that may erupt in the era of pluralism and democracy, to which new Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi committed himself in the (ethnic) national conference. Issayyas Afwerki, Eritrea's provisional president, has refused to convene a similar conference under feeble pretexts, of which the most important is, in his opinion, that the others did not fight with him. It is as if he has forgotten that war requires strength, that the other Eritreans who are renounced by Issayyas Afwerki now have this strength, and that the reasons these forces are weakened and exhausted are Afwerki and the allies of these forces, with their historical background. What I mean is that the Arab reality from which the Eritreans, or at least some of them, derived their weakness when they talked more about Eritrea's Arabism than about bolstering this Arabism while Issayyas Afwerki was converting the Arab words, statements, and clamor into western church funds and aid whose dimensions exceeded the budgets of some Arab countries, such as Sudan in its days of disabling economic weakness.

One Eritrean used an apt simile to characterize Issayyas Afwerki's position vis-a-vis the other Eritreans with whom he refuses to hold a dialogue similar to Zenawi's dialogue. This Eritrean likens the past internal struggle of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Eritrea against the Ethiopian enemy and its fraternal struggle against the other factions to a two-headed snake that bites from both ends, thus injuring and poisoning its victim.

The other Ethiopian ethnic groups, such as the Afari people, the Somalians, the Tigray people, the Amhara people, and the [Qaraq] people, are doing what the Oromos have done. Both the imperial era and the military era of Amharic persecution trampled these tribes and groups.

False Explosion

Nairobi was a brief stopping point, even though the noisy events in its arena and the newspaper headlines mislead the passing visitor and give him the impression that his next trip will not pass through it because an explosion will precede this trip. But when the passing visitor returns to Nairobi, he will find its conditions as they are now: Clamor atop clamor, one development after another, and one small explosion after another. If this visitor knows the secrets and causes of all that is happening in Kenya, he will return to it without being surprised by the presence of the same program, because the relative democracy embraced by Kenya permits everything to present itself to public opinion, whereas the other regimes, i.e., the totalitarian regimes—both military and civilian—turn off the lights and make mistakes. Thus, nobody sees or hears anything until the big explosion occurs. Bright lights are then turned on and they expose a reality which promptly and automatically

creates the reasons for a new blackout. I am talking about coups, and whoever knows the conditions in the area clearly understands what I am saying.

I was in southern Somalia—Kismaayo—and at Siad Barre's headquarters in the Garbahaarey-Bourodoba area, as the readers following the affairs of the Horn of Africa recall.

While on the way back to prepare, deliver, and publish the journalistic outcome of the visit to southern Somalia, I was contacted by people claiming to represent Fara's Aidid, a mysterious Somali general. Efforts by Italy, the United States, and Egypt have failed to persuade this general to recognize Ali Mohamed Mahdi, his tribal brother and compatriot, as president of the provisional Somali Government because, in Aidid's opinion, Ali Mahdi has stolen power from the military and political forces—which fought Siad Barre's regime and toppled Barre in January—and which may bid the world farewell before the Somali people bid their grief farewell.

Those people demanded of me "journalistic fairness," as phrased by Mrs. Zahrah, a member of Aidid's team with whom I met in Nairobi several weeks ago.

I told them that I would definitely return, but not out of the "journalistic fairness" discussed and sought by Mrs. Zahrah, a beautiful Garbahaarey woman who said that Siad Barre had killed her brother, an officer, during what is known in Somalia now as the Aro [Caro] coup attempt of 1978, staged in wake of the Somali forces' withdrawal—a withdrawal which constituted the beginning of their military collapse and which culminated with Somalia's collapse 13 years after that momentous development (or grave danger) which was preceded by minor mistakes and dangers. That invasion was the major mistake and the biggest nail in the coffin of Siad Barre's regime.

This Active Trouble-Maker

I even told Aidid's people, the issuers of the invitation, that I would go because I wanted to paint a complete picture and to interview this general who ignited a feud with his colleague Ali Mahdi last January. Two months later, the general went to Kismaayo, southern Somalia, to fight Siad Barre's tribe and forces there, and to expel them from that border town. They fled the town to the forests and returned nearly two months later after making preparations. They defeated General Aidid or, perhaps, he retreated from them to spite Ali Mahdi and to fight him in Mogadishu.

I also told Mrs. Zahrah, Aidid's representative or supporter, and the men accompanying her—men from the Habar Ghidir branch of the Hawiyye—that I wanted my approach to Somalia's issues to be balanced through the four parties concerned.

The Hawiyye, with its two branches: the Abgal and the Habar Ghidir; the Darod with its three fundamental branches: the Majerteen, the Marrihan, and the Ogaden, without ignoring the Dulbahante, whose heart seems to

be with the north and their sword with the south; and the Isaacs, who are led by a diplomat called Abdrahman Ali Tur (or al-Ahdab) who doesn't recall that diplomacy dictates at times, as it is said in Somalia, that one shake an enemy's hand, not to mention the journalist's hand. Abdrahman Tur's faction believes that a journalist has no right to criticize the talk about or the proclamation of a state or a pocket in a country like Somalia, which has aspired to unite its five parts. [Tur] has lost and divided the southern and northern parts. But here I am emptying my journalistic bag of Siad Barre's interview, the interviews with other notables, and the Darod tales to respond to the invitation to visit Mogadishu after nearly six months of absence from the city!

I asked those issuing the invitation about the conditions there and they said unanimously: "Zayn" [fine]. Somali people use this word as one of their old Arabic linguistic gains.

When I asked Zahrah about who rules Mogadishu, she said with a laugh: "God rules the entire universe and Mogadishu is but a small part of God's world."

By God, this is true, Mrs. Zahrah. I trust in God and I will leave with you for Mogadishu tomorrow to meet with General Aidid for the first time and to meet with the provisional president for the second time during the nearly 11 months of his rule.

[23 Nov p 5]

[Text] Mogadishu, AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Trusting in God, I did actually resolve to go to Somalia, even though the majority of its population wishes to escape this country because of the dangers of the tribal war; the stray bullets flying day and night; and the highwaymen, also operating day and night.

My Legendary Friend

It is known that I have Somali friends, some of whom have fled Mogadishu recently and some in the past. They live a life of homelessness, aimlessness, abuse, and humiliation in Nairobi and in other cities.

The most important of these friends is a man whom I will call "the guide." He is an astonishing folkloric legend because of his recollection of history and his awareness of his country's "contemporary" events. He is a fellow whose companionship is sought by big and small. At times, he is bigger than all of Somalia's tribes, even though he actually belongs to a branch of the Darod tribe. He is a poet, a storyteller, and an old partner of Siad Barre and his son-in-law, Ahmed Soleiman—Diflah—in the 1969 revolution. Some people in Mogadishu cheer nowadays for a return of this revolution, either out of love for it or of spite for Ali Mahdi and his foe, General Aidid, who have caused the Somali people with a hardship that has made them transform the Siad Barre nightmare into a clear and overwhelming dream. Barre came to be hated by most, or all, of the people

because he stayed too long and because his presence became a heavy presence. Most or all people remember him now as a man whose long stay amounted to continuity, stability, and prosperity, compared to the conditions of a capital that is now engulfed in fear, fright, anxiety, and ignorant and dangerous anarchy. Ali Mahdi's escape from Mogadishu has not alleviated this city's hardship.

When I informed the guide, my friend, that I was planning to go to Mogadishu the next day, he answered decisively and firmly: Don't go.

I asked: Why, guide?

He answered: "You will die there. The Hawiyye are mad at the statements Siad Barre made to you."

I said: "But you say they are Siad Barre's statements. So I didn't make them. I just transmitted them. He who transmits infidelity is not an infidel."

He responded: "But they have not found Siad Barre and they will not find him among them in order to settle their accounts with him. You are the one who will be in front of them. These days, the transmitter of faith in Mogadishu is an infidel, unless the faith is tribal and unless the believer believes in the Hawiyye."

I said to the guide: "You are a fanatic Darod. You will see that I will go and return safely, God willing. All I ask for is your prayers. You are nicknamed the guide because you are a believer, and believers have their serene hours."

This Amazing Sundry

I had an appointment to meet at 0800 in Nairobi Airport with General Aidid's delegation, which was returning to Mogadishu from some tasks abroad, so that we would travel together to that city. The means of transportation was the only plane that flies to all four corners of Somalia once a week, flying to Mogadishu, Berbera, Djibouti, the Gulf, and then back to Mogadishu and Nairobi. Thus, it flies and flies, carrying during the week Somali people returning to seek their kinsmen with whom they had lost contact because of the war or rulers, influential figures, and tribal leaders returning from missions abroad, or carrying those fortunate people who find the opportunity to flee a city with no government and no ruler other than thousands of "children" who came from the remote countryside with Ali Mahdi to destroy Siad Barre and his regime. When they found that Barre had fled, they decided to stay in the city and to entertain themselves by killing its inhabitants and making them live in horror, and by oppressing the city in a way that makes the most daring Somali citizen in Mogadishu celebrate his safe return to his home, even if he has only gone to a neighboring mosque or shop! He who escapes a stray bullet will not escape an old enemy who personally performs the duty of taking revenge or who delegates somebody to perform this duty on his behalf for a fee of no more than \$1 or 8,000 Somali shillings. Murder in

Somalia is carried out only in return for payment in hard currency. This is the only thing that has been accomplished since people sold away Siad Barre's oppressive—in their opinion—government and bought the government of Ali Mahdi and the Manifesto faction. This is what General Aidid will say, even if only temporarily, in the Hadan quarter in the center of Mogadishu which, like old Berlin (with a difference, of course), has been divided into two sectors: Abgal and Habar Ghidir.

Because the management of the plane, called Africa Airline, is free of any Somali citizen who may shuffle "business" cards with the tribal cards and the cards of civil wars, our path from the luggage scales to the plane ladder was safe and paved with prompt procedures, except for one blemish which had nothing to do with the flight and plane management.

Upon entering gate four, we found a crowd of Kenyan policemen and women, nearly exceeding in number the passengers on the flight to Mogadishu, amassed before the Nairobi Airport security devices!

The security check was evidently provocative. It was meaningless and it had no reason other than trying to declare annoyance and dissatisfaction with the presence of these large numbers of Somali citizens in Kenya. The issue may have its tribal dimensions, because those who were inspecting Somali citizens at the airport were, perhaps, from the Kekuyu tribe, which views with some dissatisfaction and wrath President arap Moi's sympathy for the Somali people generally, and for the Darod in particular.

One Man's Poison May Actually Be Another Man's Fish

The reason is that the Kenyans descended from Somali origin—to be specific, Kenyans from the NFD [Northern Frontier District] which Somalia has claimed as part of its territory because its inhabitants are Somali in religion, language, and historical roots—support President arap Moi. Moi's alliance with the small Kenyan tribes and entities is viewed with hostility by the Kekuyu tribe, which alleges that 40 percent of all Kenyans belong to it.

This alliance between arap Moi and this sector of Somali Kenyans has an influential presence at the top of the Kenyan Government, considering that Kenya's minister of presidential affairs and its chief of staff are of Somali extraction and are sympathetic to the Somali people in general, and the Darod in particular, because the roots of the Kenyan NFD inhabitants go back to the Darod.

But he who abases himself abases his country. The provocation of Somali men and women by the Nairobi Airport police did not anger the Somalis. The sight of a Kenyan policeman inserting his hand under the dress of a relatively old Somali woman on the pretext of inspection did not anger anybody or make his blood boil in his veins, as it made my blood boil in mine, and blood of the Yemeni man standing next to me at the departure hall boil in his veins. At that moment, the entire Arab

Islamic history of Somalia was screaming: "Enough self-abasement, o you Somali people who are divided by your insane tribal wars!"

Because the plane was big and the number of passengers modest, they filled half the seats with the luggage of the Somali passengers, among whom there were only six foreigners: five Italians and myself.

Mogadishu is nearly a 90-minute flight from Nairobi, and I spent that time with a book on the Maghreb people and their struggle to stay within the domain of Arab history and heritage, and the Islamic religion. But here is an Arab Islamic land that we are losing, or are about to lose, because its people, who are united by religion, are divided by tribalism.

I reviewed in my mind the outcome of the Somali developments over the years—developments which peaked, not started, with the end of Siad Barre's regime last January. The outcome of my review was as follows:

Ninety percent of this country's educated citizens are abroad now, mostly in Europe, where they are losing their identity. The few who are in the neighboring countries are immersed in an effort to deal with the problems of this afflicted country, but to no avail.

Nearly half a million families, consisting mostly of children, have either settled or are seeking stability in Europe or the United States. As a first step, they are relinquishing their convictions, cultures, and traditions. This concession may include religion in the long run, when an entire Somali generation grows up in the diaspora and follows its rugged paths.

The Somali educational apparatus and its collapsed system will now be replaced by educational systems and methods from countries which have their own educational concepts. The Somali student will have to either accept these concepts or reject them and enjoy his ignorance.

The Somali Government and all its institutions have collapsed. There is no ruler and no ruled, except for the remnants of some "ethics and values" which will not stand fast for long in the face of the "coming dark days" when people, or whoever remains in this dangerous jungle, where anarchy is destroying both strong and weak, run out of patience. The strong are confronted by those who are stronger, and the cycle will be completed when all are destroyed.

Mogadishu Airport

The plane landed at Mogadishu Airport, which was once a model of discipline and which has now become a model of chaos!

Who has ever seen departing passengers board a plane before its arriving passengers have deplaned?

Who you have ever seen arrivals' luggage mixing with the departures' luggage? Chaos prevailed among both arrivals and departures and was not ended until everyone found his luggage amidst the luggage of some other passengers!

Number One in Chaos

Mogadishu Airport is now entitled to register itself as the world's most chaotic and lax airport. It will find no other airport to rival it or even come close to it in this regard. There is no customs authority to ask you about what you carry. There is no authority to ask you if the luggage you have carried out of the plane belongs to you or if you have decided to make it yours. Should the owner object, the gun is ready on the shoulder!

It is optional to stamp or not stamp the passports, I believe. Even though I was careful to line up in front of the passport window, I saw numerous arrivals heading from the plane directly to where cars were waiting for them on the runway!

After a man, who I believe was a volunteer checking the passports, stamped my passport, my personal problem was to find one single official who had to sign the sealed passport. When I found him, with difficulty, he was performing his duty of welcoming or seeing off some arriving or departing passengers from his faction. Mogadishu Airport is located on the coast of the Indian Ocean.

My escort chose a coastal route to leave the airport. We saw no inspector and the hands of customs officials did not touch our luggage, because it is obvious that they do not exist.

Upon asking the driver, who was driving with disturbing and surprising speed, why he chose this coastal route, I understood from him that he took it because it was liberated from the control of Ali Mahdi, before Mahdi fled the city, of course; because I was General Aidid's guest; and also—and the driver did not tell me this until the last moment—for the sake of my safety, because the archenemies of the Ali Mahdi faction are General Aidid's foreign guests, who are believed by Ali Mahdi's men to be aid-providing guests or guests urging against recognition of Mahdi's authority.

I wasn't either type of guest, of course, but who can convince those who carry automatic weapons?

Rwanda**Ugandan Foreign Minister Ssemogerere Ends Visit**

EA121211:791 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale
de la Republique Rwandaise in french 1800 GMT
10 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Paul Ssemogerere, the Ugandan minister of foreign affairs, ended his two-day visit to our country today. The Ugandan minister was received today by the president of the Republic, Major General Juvenal Habyarimana. At the end of the talks, the Ugandan minister told the national press that he had come to Rwanda at the invitation of his Rwandan counterpart Casimir Bizimungu with whom he had held talks.

Paul Ssemogerere expressed the hope that his visit would allow the improvement of relations between our two countries, stressing that the two sides had expressed their willingness to do so. Urged to speak about his impressions after visiting the war zone yesterday, the Ugandan minister answered that he personally, as a human being, was shaken by the suffering of the people whom he met and he (hoped) that something would be done to alleviate the suffering. When asked by reporters whether he had suggested to the Rwandan Government any solution to the war, Paul Ssemogerere answered that he encouraged [word indistinct] dialogue between the two belligerents. Besides, he hoped that the Rwandan refugee problem would be solved within the shortest time possible.

The reporters also spoke to Casimir Bizimungu, the Rwandan minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation. The head of Rwandan diplomacy insisted on giving precise information on the reason for his Ugandan counterpart's visit to our country. Minister Bizimungu spoke to Mugabo Manasse.

[Begin Bizimungu recording] The visit by the Ugandan foreign minister, Dr. Paul Ssemogerere, falls in line with consultations and contacts which should be maintained between our two countries in spite of the war imposed on us since 1 October 1990, and in spite of the blatant involvement of Uganda in this war. On 3 May I went to Uganda at the invitation of my Ugandan counterpart, precisely, to revive at least dialogue between our countries. At that time, I considered that...[Bizimungu changes thought] we considered that it was necessary, that it was useful that Uganda be invited in turn to visit our country, and it is in this regard that Minister Ssemogerere visited Rwanda.

I would not like our listeners to be under the impression that the visit was aimed at ending the war. The war may continue but the visit has as its main objective the warming up of contacts between the two countries' authorities again. The visit also has as its objective—at least had as its objective—showing the Ugandan authorities the situation which we are experiencing following the war imposed on us. [passage omitted including indistinct portions]

The visit has also afforded Minister Ssemogerere the opportunity to have contacts with us again to enable us to [words indistinct] to once more warm up the contacts which have usually—which have for a certain number of months—undergone a certain cooling. This, then, is what can be said about the visit. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Zaire**Sovereign National Conference Resumes 11 December**

AB1112173091 Paris AFP in French 1504 GMT
11 Dec 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 11 Dec (AFP)—The deliberations of the Zairian national conference resumed this afternoon at the People's Palace in Kinshasa. The discussions are being carried live by the radio and television.

The conference, which is taking place in the absence of Prime Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond who is currently touring the United States and several European countries, is being chaired by Interior Minister Mandungu Bula Nyati.

The items on the agenda of this session are essentially devoted to the election of the conference's provisional executive body, made up of a chairman, two deputy chairmen, three secretaries rapporteurs, and nine observers.

More than 2,000 people, representing the three arms of the Zairian society (the civilian society), the political parties, and the public institutions are taking part in the deliberations. Voting will be by secret ballots.

The Zairian national conference had been suspended following the recent 23 and 24 September uprising and the resumption of the deliberations had been postponed several times.

The radical wing of the Sacred Union (opposition group) announced yesterday that it would organize an operation ghost town tomorrow both in Kinshasa and in the cities in the interior of the country if the sovereign national conference did not resume today.

Over 2,000 Delegates Attend

AB1212131091 Paris AFP in French 0942 GMT
12 Dec 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 12 Dec (AFP)—The deliberations of the Zairian national conference that resumed early yesterday afternoon at the Kinshasa Palais du Peuple, continued throughout the night and delegates were still in session this morning under the chairmanship of Interior Minister Mandungu Bula Nyati. Over 2,000 delegates, representing the people, political parties, and

public institutions organized elections for a chairman of the provisional bureau of the conference. The session was covered live and in its entirety by the television and the radio.

Three candidates are contesting the chairmanship following the withdrawal of two of the five candidates at the opening session yesterday. Initial results show Monsignor Laurent Monsengwo Pasinya, Archbishop of Kisangani and chairman of the Zaire episcopal conference, and the favorite of all the Zairian opposition parties, in the lead.

The final results will be published at midday, today.

Monsignor Pasinya Elected Chairman

*AB1212133091 Paris AFP in French 1124 GMT
12 Dec 91*

[Text] Kinshasa, 12 Dec (AFP)—Monsignor Laurent Monsengwo Pasinya, Archbishop of Kisangani and chairman of the episcopal conference of Zaire, has been elected chairman of the provisional bureau of the sovereign national conference, an official source announced today in the Zairian capital. Monsignor Monsengwo Pasinya obtained 1497 votes against 767 for his main opponent, Mr. Kanku Ditu.

The national conference was suspended following riots on 23 and 24 September and resumed on 11 December. The deliberations continued throughout the night and today under the chairmanship of the Interior Minister, Mr. Mandungu Bula Nyati.

Djibouti**President Receives Senior French Army Commander***EA1112150691 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 10 Dec 91*

[Text] Alhaji Hassan Gouled Aptidon, president of the Republic of Djibouti, met Admiral (Lansat), a senior commander in the French Armed Forces this morning. The meeting was attended by Claude Soubeste, the French ambassador to Djibouti, and General (Coubert), senior commander of the French Army in Djibouti. The Djibouti Republic delegation included Ali Mahamade Houmed, minister of youth, sports and culture and acting foreign minister, and Ismail Gedi Hared, director of the office of the presidency.

Rebel FRUD Declares Unilateral Cease-Fire*AB1212122591 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 11 Dec 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The rebels in northern Djibouti are again making conciliatory noises. Some say they are Afars who have come across the border from northern Ethiopia to launch their raids on towns such as Obock and Tadjoura. The rebels themselves claim to be a prodemocracy movement fed up with alleged injustices in President Hassan Gouled's regime but it has been revealed that the rebels declared another unilateral cease-fire over the weekend and have given a nod to the deployment of French troops along the Ethiopian border. Bonavit Phillips asked Christor Farah in Djibouti why the rebels had declared the cease-fire.

[Begin recording] [Farah] Well, it now seems that the FRUD [Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy] movement, the guerrilla movement, is trying to keep in line with the political and diplomatic move over the situation in northern Djibouti. I mean, the Djiboutian Government did agree or did welcome the French decision to send troops along the border with Ethiopia and the Djibouti Government's reaction took place about a couple of weeks ago. Now, I think the guerrilla movement has decided to go along, to go along with that political move.

[Phillips] So we can expect the cease-fire to stick because, after all, the last one did not?

[Farah] The first one did last over the scheduled time and I think that this one should also last because I think it is a matter for each side to prepare for the bargaining situation, the bargaining process.

[Phillips] Does that mean negotiations are now going to start?

[Farah] Yes, the process of negotiation cannot be excluded, cannot be ruled out even though the government has adopted a policy of ignoring the FRUD movement. [end recording]

Ethiopia**Oromos Hold 'Huge Demonstration' in Addis Ababa***EA1112100091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network
in Amharic 1700 GMT 8 Dec 91*

[Excerpt] Oromos in Addis Ababa and its environs held a huge demonstration today in support of the desire of the Oromo People's Democratic Organization [OPDO] for the peace and stability in the country which was achieved through struggle, as well as the wide-ranging unity agreement on working together reached by the four Oromo organizations. The huge demonstration said that the aim of the OPDO is for the oppressed Oromo people of Oromia and the Oromo masses to unite under one umbrella of democracy and to struggle to ensure lasting peace and stability in the country, to prevent the revival of the former armed colonizers [naftenya] system.

More than 50,000 Oromos, who willingly attended the demonstration in support of the calls, chanted slogans such as: The aim of the OPDO has liberated us from the slavery system of the armed colonizers through its struggle and it is our organization; peace and stability in Oromia as well as in the whole of Ethiopia has saved us and our sons from the fratricidal war; the agreement between the four Oromo organizations is in the interest of the Oromia masses.

They demanded the demolition of the Menelik statue since he had brought the Oromo people under his control by force. Mr. Ibrahim Malika, deputy secretary general of the OPDO, recalled in his speech to the demonstrators that the OPDO had carried out a struggle for the rights of Oromos and would continue the struggle in the future alongside the people until lasting victory. He called on the people of Oromia to be organized, armed and ready for struggle more than ever before, and not to bow down before the warmongers.

The huge demonstration, which was held in support of the aims of the OPDO, chanted slogans written in Orimigna, Amharic, Tigrinya, and other languages, and marched from Meskel Square, through Menelik Square, then back to Meskel Square, carrying the Ethiopian flag and emblems of the OPDO and those of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front.

Among the slogans chanted by the demonstrators were: The aim of the OPDO is to grant our victory; The problem of the Oromo people will be solved in a democratic way; peace above everything; Let the unity of the four Oromo organizations be strong; We do not want chauvinism and racism; We shall not be victims of a war

in the interests of the chauvinists and narrow nationalists; Assurance of the right to self-determination is the way towards peace; The OPDO is an Oromo organization; We shall struggle for lasting peace; Beware of the saboteur bureaucrats; We shall establish an Ethiopia based on the love of the people for one another and for others.

Oromo Liberation Front Holds Meeting 8 Dec

EA1012210091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 0400 GMT 9 Dec 91

[Text] Oromos born in Jima [southwestern Ethiopia] and now residents in Addis Ababa have expressed their readiness to stand alongside the Oromo Liberation Front [OLF] in order to implement the charter of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia. They have also said that they will struggle for a peaceful and democratic way to solve problems created in various areas to hinder the charter's implementation. About 500 of them said this yesterday [8 December] after they held a meeting in the OLF office and were able to learn about the social, economic, and political activities being carried out in Jima and throughout Oromoland. They established an action committee and passed a seven-point resolution. They stated in their resolutions that all members of the Oromo nation must come under the umbrella of the OLF in order to raise the demands of the Oromo nation and implement them properly without being divided along tribal and religious lines. They said that they will struggle against any pressure being made to divide them in various ways.

Mr. Lencho Leta, deputy secretary general of the OLF and member of the Council of Representatives, said in his speech at the ceremony that the Oromo nation must fight for its own rights and not rely on others. He went on to say that this can be achieved by bringing all the members of this nation under one umbrella so they can solve their own problems through discussions. This is the aim of the charter, which embodies self-determination, he added.

Abugda Democratic Congress Presents Manifesto

EA1112091591 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 8 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The Abugda Ethiopian Democratic Congress, whose aim among others is to fight for human rights and expose their suppression, introduced its manifesto to its members and supporters today. The organization's aims include learning from the democratic experiences of various countries, presenting these experiences to the people in various ways in order to cultivate a democratic culture in Ethiopia, strengthening positive aspects of the policies announced by government from time to time, and forwarding ideas on the weak points of these policies to the government so as to improve upon them. [passage omitted]

Kenya

More on Parliament's Repeal of One-Party Law

EA1112145891 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Parliament today repealed Section 2A of the Kenya Constitution thus paving the way for a multiparty democracy in this country. The move invalidates the requirement that KANU [Kenya African National Union] would be the only party in the country. More now from Oliver Litondo in Parliament buildings:

[Litondo] Parliament today repealed Section 2A of the Constitution that in 1982 made Kenya a de jure one party state. The bill amending the Constitution was tabled by the attorney general, Amos Wako, at exactly 4 p.m. this evening. Wako said that the decision by President Daniel arap Moi that Kenya may have to permit multiparty politics in the interest of peace and stability preceded the Paris conference. He said there have been many exponents of the view that whatever went on at the recent Paris conference determined that Kenya must adopt a multiparty system immediately and at any rate within six months. That is not true, he said. He said this came as a result of the Saitoti Commission which a year and a half ago made its recommendations to the party which were adopted and most of them have been implemented. Wako said that it is a sign of the exemplary leadership with which President Daniel arap Moi has been guiding this nation that under his guidance the ruling party, KANU, has taken stock of the changes that have taken place.

The bill before the house, he said, is the outcome of that continuous process of review. But the attorney general said change is not the issue. Change is inevitable in the life of an individual or a nation. Life itself, whether that of a person or a nation, is a continuous process of change. He said the challenge that faces us as a people is how to manage the change that we must go through creatively and courageously. He said: We do not manage change creatively by simply copying what everyone else is doing.

Seconding the motion, the leader of government business, who is also the vice president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti, said that change has always been a dynamic factor in the evolution of Kenya. He said there were two parties at the turn of Kenya's independence, KADU [Kenya African Democratic Union] and KANU, which merged for the sake of unity, stability, and peace. Saitoti promised KANU members that KANU will not only be the mother of all parties, but a real party. He called on Kenyans to form whatever party they wanted as long as they were national in outlook.

Others who supported the bill included the MP for Langata, Philip Leakey, who called for political maturity

on the part of all Kenyans, all MPs, clergy, the press and the opposition.

Law Society's Muite Denies Ties With Ex-Minister

*FA1012210491 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1600 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] The chairman of the Law Society of Kenya, Paul Muite denied today he was fronting for the once-powerful constitutional affairs minister, Charles Njonjo, to take the country's presidency if FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] wins the forthcoming elections. Muite said in a press statement the system to be followed by FORD to pick a presidential candidate made it difficult for anyone to front for such a candidate.

He was reacting to a front-page story in the DAILY NATION today in which an assistant minister for information and broadcasting, Shariff Nassir, claimed Muite was working out strategies to ensure that Njonjo came to power.

FORD Founders Reconcile; Form Interim Body

*EA1212121091 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 11 Dec 91*

[Text] The Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, today announced a reconciliation and the six founder members have agreed on an interim committee. According to a list issued by the founder members, the committee will be headed by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga as chairman. Other posts are as follows: vice chairman, Masinde Muliro; secretary general, Martin Shikuku; assistant secretary, Ahmad Bamahriz; treasurer, George Nthenge; and organizing secretary, Philip Gachoka.

The members said the committee had been formed primarily for registration purposes adding that registered FORD members will elect their representatives for the national office. A press conference was addressed by all six members, who said the formation of the committee had been consented to by the 23 other FORD members who were present during the launching of the party.

Meanwhile, Martin Shikuku today expressed shock at news of the release of formerly powerful figures, Minister Nicholas Biwott and Hezekiah Oyugi, the two principal suspects in the Ouko murder case. Shikuku said the release of the two confirmed fears that wananchi [citizens] have expressed about the role of security personnel who were involved in the early stages of investigating the murder and subsequent attempts to cover it up. He said Kenyans would not accept that the Ouko murder remain another unsolved mystery despite the money and man hours already put into the case. Shikuku ended by saying that the attorney general owes the country and the public an explanation.

Somalia

Somaliland Chairman Proposes Reconciliation Meeting

*EA1212064091 Khartoum SUNA in English
0953 GMT 10 Dec 91*

[Text] Cairo, 10 Dec (SUNA)—The chairman of the Somaliland National Movement [as received], Abdu-rahman Ahmed Ali, has proposed to hold a reconciliation meeting of the Somali factions in Khartoum. He thanked Sudan [for its] political and humanitarian role towards the Somali people, saying that Sudan is qualified to mediate between the Somali rival factions.

The secretary-general of the international popular friendship council [and Sudanese minister of state in the presidency], Dr. Mustafa Uthman, has met Ali, who is visiting Cairo in response to an official invitation, Monday [9 December] and reviewed with him the current situations in Somalia.

Dr. Uthman said that Gen [name indistinct] agreed to participate in Khartoum's meeting, affirming Sudan's concern with situations in Somalia to give no chance of any foreign interference in the Horn of Africa.

Tanzania

Zambian President Chiluba Arrives on Visit 11 Dec

*EA1112222991 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania
Network in Swahili 1300 GMT 11 Dec 91*

[Excerpts] Dar es Salaam: President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia has begun a two-day visit to the country. The new Zambian leader arrived in Dar es Salaam today and was met by President Ali Hassan Mwinyi, the first vice president, Brother John Malecela, party and government leaders, and a large crowd of citizens. [passage omitted]

This evening President Chiluba is scheduled to visit the Tanzania Port Authority and the headquarters of the Tanzania Railways Corporation. Tomorrow President Chiluba will visit the Tanzania Cargo Company and will later proceed to the Dar es Salaam International Airport for departure at the end of his visit.

Uganda

Airline Head Dismissed Over Yugoslav Arms Deal

*EA1212112091 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1700 GMT 10 Dec 91*

[Text] The chairman and managing director of Uganda airlines corporation, Mr. Abraham Waligo, and two other executives of the airline have been dismissed

because of their involvement in the use of a Uganda airliner to transport arms to Zagreb, in Yugoslavia. The minister of works, transport, and communications, Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda, announced this today in a statement to the National Resistance Council about the report of the committee of inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the flying of arms from South [Africa] to Zagreb using a Uganda-registered plane.

The other executives dismissed by the government are the corporation secretary Mr. Odoi Osende, and the head of flight operations, Captain Jack Calnan. The government has appointed the deputy governor of the Bank of Uganda, Dr. Suruma, as acting chairman of the board of directors of the Uganda Airlines, Mr. Cyprian Ajiku, acting general manager, and Mr. (Mutyaba), acting corporation secretary.

Dr. Rugunda told the house that the government took great exception to the development of the circumstances which in the first instance violated the well-known stand of the NRM [National Resistance Movement] government policy of observance of strict trade sanctions against the racist Pretoria regime, especially at this time when undermining such a policy is critical to the struggle of the people of South Africa.

In the second instance, Dr. Rugunda said, the shipping of arms to the breakaway state of Yugoslavia was an act of hostility to the integrity and dignity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has close political, diplomatic and economic relationship with Uganda.

Thirdly, he said, the act of importation of arms into Uganda from the Republic of South Africa and a false

declaration of the same to customs authorities violated various laws and aviation regulations of Uganda.

Dr. Rugunda told the house that political and diplomatic steps are being taken to secure the release of Capt. (Makieli) and the impounded aircraft. The government, he said, has also approved the termination of a lease agreement between Uganda Airlines and the aviation (?lease) group. The minister also disclosed that the government has decided to audit the books of accounts of Uganda Airlines, reorganize, and restructure the Uganda Airlines to appropriate levels as started in 1988.

The government, he said, has also taken a decision that the Internal Security Organization, ISO, would be in charge of security at the airport as a way of harmonizing and streamlining security. For this reason, he said, a senior security coordinator has been appointed at the airport to examine and regularize security. The government has taken a decision to urgently train security personnel at the airport and review clearance regulations.

The minister informed the house that the government has with urgent need reviewed the task for which Uganda Airlines was set up and has taken steps towards developing and monitoring the performance of the airline. In this respect, he said, a five-man committee comprising of the minister of works, transport and communications, the minister of planning and economic development, the minister of finance, the minister of tourism, wildlife and antiquities, as well as the minister of commerce cooperatives and marketing has been set up. Meanwhile, the functioning of the members of the board of directors has been separated from that of the chief executive of the airline.

Codesa Steering Committee To Meet Monthly*MB1112132391 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1243 GMT 11 Dec 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 11 SAPA—The steering committee of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa] has moved towards agreement that Codesa should meet monthly until a new constitution is in place, it was confirmed on Wednesday.

The committee, which has the task of preparing the first meeting on December 20 and 21, gathered on Tuesday with the leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Zach de Beer, as chairman.

Mr de Beer described the meeting as routine, but added that the discussions generated vital mutual trust.

The committee is likely to propose that Codesa meets monthly, or at least bi-monthly, even if a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution is agreed.

Between meetings, groups should be formed to discuss and decide specific issues.

Lebowa Chief Minister Discusses Codesa*MB1112062591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1929 GMT 10 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 10 SAPA—The success of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa] will mark a turning point in the country's socio-political system, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike said on Tuesday.

SABC radio news reported Mr Ramodike was speaking during an end-of-the year ceremony organised for cabinet ministers and other government officials held at the Potlake Game Reserve in the Sekhukhuni District.

He said the favourable outcome expected from the Codesa meeting would be directed towards the normalisation of the society in the country and an introduction of a new era of non-racialism.

He made an earnest appeal to all South Africans, to develop a sense of responsibility and join hands in facilitating the necessary changes in the country.

He also appealed for the upliftment of the disadvantaged people in the country and help build a spirit of co-operation and reconciliation.

De Klerk To Head Government Delegation to Codesa*MB1212141291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1357 GMT 12 Dec 91*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: SA [South African] Communication Service: "Press statement by the state president,—Mr F.W. de Klerk"]

[Text] This is to announce that the government delegation for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa on 10/21 December 1991 [date as received] will be led by the state president.

The remainder of the delegation will consist of the following people:

Minister R.F. (Pik) Botha

Minister Gerrit van N. Viljoen

Minister H.J. (Kobie) Coetsee

Minister Barend J. du Plessis

Minister Sam J. de Beer

Minister E.H. (Rina) Venter

Minister Leon Wessels

Minister Piet G. Marais

Deputy Minister J.T. (Tertius) Delpoit

Deputy Minister Abe Williams

Mnr S.S. (Fanie) van der Merwe

The names of the National Party's delegation will be announced in a separate press statement.

The composition of both delegations may be expected to change from time to time according to needs and circumstances. However, the people who have taken the lead so far in the preparatory meetings and discussions will continue to do so on a continuous basis to enable the rest of the delegation to continue with their normal duties. Issued by the Office of the State President Pretoria 12 December 1991

National Party Announces Delegation to Codesa*MB1212144591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1345 GMT 12 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 12 SAPA—The National Party's [NP] Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, will head the NP delegation to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa [Codesa] to be held on December 20 and 21, the NP announced on Thursday.

The delegation includes several former Labour Party MPs in the House of Representatives—dubbed "Brown Nats" in South African media because of their mixed race ancestry—who crossed the floor to the NP earlier this year.

An NP statement listed the delegation as:

Dr de Villiers;

Mr George Bartlett, MP for Amanzimtoti and leader of the Natal NP;

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel;

Minister of Defence Mr Roelf Meyer;

Chairman of the Natal NP and MP for Vryheid Mr Jurie Mentz;
Vice chairman of the Cape NP and MP for Kalahari, The Rev Andrew Julies;
Leader of the NP in the House of Representatives and MP for Reiger Park Mr Jac Rabie;
MP for Durbanville Mr Frik van Deventer;
President's Councillors Mrs Anne Routier and Mr Peter Marais; and MP for Bloemfontein North Dr Frik van Heerden;
Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary general of the NP.

UNHCR To Begin Repatriation of Exiles 11 Dec
MB1012194891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1904 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 10 SAPA—The first repatriation of exiles to South Africa [RSA] by the UN High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) takes place on Wednesday when an Air Tanzania flight brings home 120 people from the east African country.

This was announced in Johannesburg on Tuesday by the head of the UNHCR mission to South Africa, Mr Kallu Kalumiya, who said the flight would be the first of five from Tanzania during December.

"This first flight marks a new step in cooperation between the South African Government and the UNHCR, initiated in September 1991 with the signing of a joint memorandum of understanding concluded for the return of exiles.

"With this historic agreement, the UNHCR became the first United Nations agency invited to establish a presence in the country," said a statement by Mr Kalumiya.

Other flights will land in Durban (December 13) and East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town during next week.

Most on the first flight are teenagers from the ANC's [African National Congress] Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania.

Mr Kalumiya said the UN agency had appealed for an initial USD28 million to cover costs of repatriating an estimated 30000 exiles, but this figure could increase dramatically once registration and other expenses had been finalised.

At least a third of the money would go for transportation.

Overall, he continued, the process of repatriation and cooperation from the government was better than expected.

The UNHCR mission was established in the country on October 23 this year.

It hopes to complete its task by October next year.

First Group Returns From Tanzania
MB1112132291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1110 GMT 11 Dec 91

[By Hilke Birns]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 11 SAPA—The first group of 120 ANC [African National Congress] refugees from Tanzania, many allegedly orphaned teenagers, returned to South Africa on Wednesday [11 December] under the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

Ululating and applause greeted the returnees as they stepped into the arrivals hall at Jan Smuts Airport more than 1-1/2 hours after the arrival of their chartered Air Tanzania flight. On hand to greet them were the ANC's Winnie Mandela and Adelaide Tambo who embraced the youngsters on-by-one and welcomed them home.

The youths were clearly pleased to be back but bewildered as a barrage of camera flashes erupted and local and foreign media bombarded them with questions. Though some could not speak English, others could and they were glad to be home, hoping to continue their education and find some family members.

"It is very emotional and we would like to try our best to make them feel as happy and as comfortable as possible," Mrs Tambo told SAPA. She said her husband, former ANC President Oliver Tambo, had specially kept a cake given to him on his 70th birthday in October to give to the children.

According to Mrs Mandela the problems concerning the integration of the returnees were formidable. "We have an extraordinary situation here. Normally it would have been the government's responsibility to assist us with accommodation and the various social problems we are faced with. We have not got the resources to, in fact, afford this process ourselves."

She said many of the youngsters had left the country in the wake of the 1976 uprising against the government and the ANC was not offering them the hope of returning to a new South Africa. "Not at all, normally people are repatriated after independence, we are doing things the other way around. I believe we shall attain that freedom soon."

The home-coming of the youth, ranging from a few teddy-bear clutching children to mostly full-grown young men and women, form part of the UNHCR's USD30-million repatriation programme for South Africans who fled the country due to Pretoria's former apartheid policies.

According to UNHCR head of mission, Mr Kallu Kalumiya, the repatriation of 10,000 refugees from Tanzania would be complete before the end of December. This included the return of 7,000 ANC- and 1,008 Pan Africanist Congress members, as well as non-affiliates and some dissidents.

A total of 6,000 refugees had already returned from various countries and 24,000 more were being expected.

He said the UNHCR would have to revise its current budget at the reintegration of refugees into South African cities was proving more expensive than previous repatriation programmes in rural southern African states.

Ugandan-born Mr Kalumyia said the UNHCR would pay for immediate welfare needs, temporary accommodation and education placements.

Refugees still in schools in Tanzania had been encouraged to remain there until they had completed their education.

He said projects to provide employment for the returnees were also being discussed between the government and the National Coordinating Committee for Repatriation (NCCR). The new arrivals were entertained at a welcoming function at Johannesburg's St George's Cathedral on Wednesday, where—after they were temporarily accommodated at the Safari Hotel in Hillbrow, ANC and UNHCR officials confirmed.

Among them are a group of orphans, whose planned accommodation at an empty Pretoria school was thwarted when the institution was bombed by rightwing elements earlier this year.

Mr Kalumyia said it was decided that a Natal school, considered for accommodations after the bombing, was unsafe as it was situated in Inkatha Freedom Party territory.

ANC deputy head of social welfare, Mr Dali Mpofu, said attempts would be made to return those with families home as soon as possible, "maybe even tomorrow".

The rest would be relocated after a week to UNHCR centres countrywide, while attempts were being made to trace relatives, if any.

He said the organisation was considering separating the children into various institutions for security reasons.

Further flights from Tanzania would be channelled directly via Johannesburg to Cape Town or Durban, with the next one landing as soon as next week.

Police Reinforcements in Soweto for 16 Dec Rally

*MB1212124491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1146 GMT 12 Dec 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 12 SAPA—Additional police and Defence Force troops are being moved into Soweto to watch over ANC [African National Congress] military wing Umkhonto We Sizwe's [Spear of the Nation] 30th anniversary rally at Orlando Stadium on Monday.

This was revealed on Thursday in a statement by the district commissioner of police for the Soweto region, Maj-Gen Kobus Malan, who asked for the cooperation of all participants in the rally to avoid violence.

"The SA [South African] Police has, with big additional costs, acquired reinforcements from outside Soweto, as well as from the SA [South African] Army, to do everything in the security force's capabilities so that violence will be avoided," Gen Malan said.

He added the security forces did not want to "put a damper or restrictions" on the rally, but requested the organisers and participants to behave within the parameters of South Africa's laws, "and not create a situation for conflict and violence".

ANC President Nelson Mandela and National Chairman Oliver Tambo are scheduled to speak at the Soweto rally.

PAC President Addresses UN General Assembly

*MB0312181191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1522 GMT 3 Dec 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 3 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] was the only political organisation to attend the November preparatory talks that was neither an establishment body nor one which had participated in prior negotiations with the government, PAC President Clarence Makwetu told the United Nations General Assembly in New York on Tuesday [3 December]. In a speech which condemned "racist South Africa" and "zionist Israel", Mr Makwetu gave his view of the talks. The speech was issued to SAPA in Johannesburg.

"The PAC was not a party to selecting some 20 political parties invited to the meeting. Ten of the parties were from the so-called bantustans representing establishment-created structures. Another six represented the tricameral Parliament, and the regime had two delegations—one for the government and the other for the ruling National Party. The congress alliance was represented by the African National Congress [ANC], the South African Communist Party, and the Transvaal/Natal Indian Congresses. The PAC was the only political organisation there which was neither an establishment body or engaged in prior negotiations with the regime.

"Much to our surprise we discovered at the meeting that agreements had already been reached on key issues of the agenda—the neutral venue, the neutral and independent convenor, and procedure. On all these issues the regime proposed and the ANC supported, or vice-versa. The PAC was outvoted by pre-packed voting cattle."

Mr Makwetu declared the PAC suspended its involvement pending consultation with its members and the patriotic united front [PUF] through a special national congress of the PAC in Cape Town on December 16. "The PAC leadership will then carry out the new mandate given to it by PAC and PUF members." Mr Makwetu roundly condemned Japan and Finland for lifting sanctions against South Africa, and the administration of US President George Bush for lifting its comprehensive anti-apartheid act. Israel, too, felt the weight of his tongue for its "economic, military and other forms of collaboration with the Pretoria regime".

He claimed the government was keeping "armed members of the Buffalo Battalion 32 of Angolan mercenaries, the Koevoet battalion of Namibian mercenaries, and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] elements" in camps, and suggested they might be used against civilians.

NP Secretary on Convention Talks, Constitution

MB0312091591 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Telephone interview with Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary of the South African National Party, in Pretoria by BBC reporter Farouk Shodia; date not given—from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] All-party talks on South Africa's future went smoothly enough last Friday [29 November] and Saturday. Preparatory talks, they ended with agreement between the South African Government and the African National Congress [ANC] to hold a convention for a democratic South Africa on 20 and 21 December, but the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] walked out of the preparatory talks accusing the government and the ANC of having sown it all up in advance. As for the ANC, they are still insisting on the setting up of a transitional government and elections to a constituent assembly which the government has rejected.

On the line to Pretoria, Farouk Shodia asked National Party Secretary Stoffel van der Merwe whether the government was prepared to compromise on the ANC demands:

[Begin recording] [Van der Merwe] One hopes that all parties will be prepared to compromise on various issues. I mean, this is why in the first place one goes into negotiation. If one was not prepared to compromise, if one did not expect that the other parties will compromise, then it would have been no use to enter into negotiations.

[Shodia] How [word indistinct] do you view the negotiation process (?and) polling?

[Van der Merwe] It is difficult to say how it will unfold because one is dealing with a large number of parties and one is dealing with a very difficult situation. One can expect that the conference, the convention will meet in December, that it will then appoint some working groups to do some work in the meantime and then that the convention will again meet next year, or meet several times in fact. There is no specific end in view at this point, so one looks at repeated meetings of this convention next year.

[Shodia] Do you view a problem with the question of the transitional government and the constituent assembly that the ANC is demanding?

[Van der Merwe] Yes, we have several problems with that. In the first place, the transitional government as it

was originally proposed by the ANC, for instance, asked that a government be appointed, that the present constitution should be suspended and that this new government will then rule by decree. I find it difficult to understand why one, if one wants to create a democracy in South Africa, why you should first start off by killing off the little democracy that exists? We do not think that this will be in the interest of South Africa. On the constituent assembly, there are various reasons why we prefer a different route, but it should be pointed out that we all have the same goal in view. It is just a question of which is the right road to take to get there.

[Shodia] So what you are suggesting, basically, is that your government, which does not have the support of the majority of South Africans, oversees the entire transitional process and perhaps this convention itself draws up the new constitution and thereafter presents it to the electorate, all South Africans, in a referendum perhaps?

[Van der Merwe] Now, you first make a statement which you have no basis for and that is to say that this present government does not have the support of the majority of the people. There is no evidence to that effect. The problem is that the present government has not been elected and therefore the majority has not had an opportunity to express itself on the present government but the basic idea is that one should have good government while the process of negotiation is going on and, yes, then eventually after one has reached agreement between all the parties on a future constitution, then of course it would be a good idea to submit it to the electorate for final approval. [end recording]

NP 'Confident' of Labor Party 'Defections'

MB0412143391 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
4 Dec 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Nats [National Party] Set To Rule Coloured House"]

[Text] Cape Town—The National Party [NP] is confident of ousting the Labour Party [LP] as the majority party in the House of Representatives when Parliament resumes next month.

Officially, the NP is keeping mum about more LP defections.

Jac Rabie, NP leader in the House, said: "I don't want to say anything. These people have to decide for themselves."

However, a senior NP member, who asked not to be named, said Labour MPs [members of Parliament], including at least two ministers, were nervous about their political future.

"I have spoken to a few guys who are sitting on the edge. I expect them to make their move next month. They are uncertain about their future because our people are

turning against the ANC. They have been encouraged by President de Klerk's reforms and want to join the NP."

LP spokesman Peter Hendrickse said he did not expect more resignations.

"The voters have elected us to represent them in Parliament. We have beaten the NP in municipal elections, but have not been given the opportunity to test them in parliamentary elections."

Former LP national chairman Dr Willie Hoods, the Transvaal MEC [member of Executive Council] and latest LP member to join the NP, said he did not want to speculate about more defections.

"One must just wait for things to develop."

Minister of Housing David Curry declined to comment on rumours that he was rethinking his position in the LP.

Minister of Health and Welfare Services Chris April, who is also reportedly reconsidering his LP membership, was not available for comment.

CP Official Denies Division Over Negotiations

MB0412150291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1320 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Pretoria Dec 4 SAPA—The rightwing Conservative Party [CP] had not changed its views on negotiating with the African National Congress [ANC], the party's general secretary said in a statement issued in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Mr Andries Beyers reiterated the party's attitude towards negotiations.

He said when the CP was in power, it would negotiate with nations "which will recognise our nation's right to self determination in our own fatherland".

"The ANC is our nation's enemy which wishes to rule over us and which has proved its enmity by terrorising our people," Mr Beyers said. "We will not speak to the ANC."

The hostility could only end if Mr Nelson Mandela's movement recognised the Afrikaner nation's right to self determination, freedom and independence in its own fatherland, Mr Beyers said.

Mr Beyers said the ball was in the ANC's court.

He added that comments the CP was divided over participating in negotiations, were "wrong and nothing more than an election ploy with the eye on Potchefstroom" where a by-election is due to be held shortly.

Parties Not Pursuing 'Consistent Strategy' in Talks

MB0612121891 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 6 Dec 91 p 8

[Article by Steven Friedman a researcher at the Witwatersrand Business Schools' Center for Policy Studies: "Muddled Parties Blunder Along to a Political Settlement"]

[Text] Watching The Great South African Transition this year was a little like a particular edition of the Goon Show comedy series. During manic action that seemed to be going nowhere, a voice would repeatedly announce to listeners that "this, folks, is where the story really starts".

So it is with our transition.

Constitutional talks have been due to kick off since early January, when the ANC [African National Congress] endorsed an all-party conference. It now looks as if it will probably materialise 10 days before the end of the year.

During the year we were also told that other things were just around the corner: the start of real negotiations, the end of violence, an interim government. They are still "just around the corner". Peace never broke out, but no one declared war. Both sides promised to outflank the other decisively, but neither really seemed to try too hard.

Not that there was no progress towards a settlement. The peace accord may have locked the parties into a relationship which opens the way for the constitutional negotiation story to really start.

Inkathagata and VAT [value-added tax] may have pushed us further towards an interim government by underlining to the Nats [National Party] the perils of trying to steer the transition on their own.

The ANC conference may have elected a team able to negotiate and with a mandate to do so. The Patriotic Front may defuse opposition to the ANC's left, giving it space to negotiate.

But the movement may have less to do with the major parties making things happen than with the reality that, whatever they do, only one happening—a settlement—seems possible.

This gap between what the parties want and what is possible may explain why the settlement process remains on track, even while many of the things which the parties do seem to derail it. It might also explain why no one is pursuing a coherent, consistent strategy.

Our rulers often implied they were positioning themselves to rule the future on their own by building a nonracial alliance of "moderates" and winning the first election. To do that, they would have to show they are better at delivering order and material goodies than anyone else.

Effective, even-handed policing might have helped do that. So too would improvements for "marginal" groups (shack and hostel dwellers) whose support the liberation movements cannot take for granted. Land reform which helps the dispossessed landowners and aspiring small farmers might have won them "moderate" rural allies. They achieved none of these. Some high-up Nats concede that they have not shown they can run the show without the liberation movements.

But, while they often behaved as if they wanted to outflank the popular movements, the Nat constitutional proposals suggest their real game plan is a power-sharing deal with them. They can achieve that if they draw them into joint decisions: but VAT was not the only issue on which the Nats insisted on deciding alone. Some Nat statements suggest they did this not to avoid sharing decisions but to ensure they did so only in the multiparty conference. That way, they ensure that all other parties share in decisions, not the ANC alone. But, if they were showing they were tough enough to decide when and where decisions would be shared, concessions on VAT and other issues as soon as the heat is on do not seem the way to do it.

So, while the Nats pulled off some coups during 1991 (relaxed sanctions, shows of "coloured" support), they seemed caught in dilemmas which undermined their effectiveness.

This may have opened opportunities to the ANC in particular. It did not take them, however, because its plan was not any more coherent. It issued ultimatums and planned mass action, even as it signalled that there was little chance it would quit the negotiations. Since it meant to stay in the game, it could have tried to present itself as a more reasonable force than the Nats. But it preferred old-time rhetoric. When it tried to present itself as conciliator, the result was support for imitation hunger strikers accused of bombing black taxi ranks. ([Word indistinct] No "Free Barend Strydom" campaign?)

Inkathagate may also have highlighted some ANC dilemmas. The Nats biggest gain this year was their success in regaining international support. The scandal gave the ANC a chance to win it back for a push towards interim government. The response: A failed consumer boycott. More puzzlement followed. The election of an astute negotiating team seemed to pave the way for tough pragmatism. Instead, we saw a return to the protest mode by Nelson Mandela, who announced that P.W. Botha was a more committed reformist than F.W. de Klerk, and returned to the rhetoric which ANC economists had already abandoned. The toughest of the pragmatists, Cyril Ramaphosa, followed up with his warning that foreign loans might not be renegotiated.

This may have had something to do with conflict within the ANC. Mandela, returning from a trip abroad to find a "palace coup", may have moved leftwards to appeal to

the masses over the head of the "cabal". Ramaphosa may have moved with him to avoid being outflanked.

It could also have been an attempt to step up the pressure for interim government. Yet, since this means sharing responsibility for meeting expectations, why raise expectations so as to win the power to dampen them?

Like the Nats, the ANC does not seem sure what it is or wants to achieve. Is it trying to force the Nats to surrender? Win the diplomatic war? Patch up internal cracks? Prepare itself for (interim) powersharing? Probably a bit of each. Small wonder then that like the Nats, the ANC is doing none too well. If it is trying to become a decision-making partner, why the rhetoric and mass mobilisation?

All this may show that the major parties probably know where they are doomed to go, but are not yet willing and able to get there. If they do get there, they will blunder, not glide, towards that destination.

What of 1992? This time the story probably will start. Both sides will find it harder to avoid the logical consequences of living with each other. But that does not mean they will not try to avoid it.

Whether you see the settlement as the Great Sellout or the dawn of a new era, expect more progress towards it. But expect lots of confusion, conflict and rhetoric to go with it. We are still moving towards IT. But not so as you would notice. And what IT is still seems far from clear.

Sisulu: ANC 'Must Accept' Hani's New Role

*MB0712172391 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1708 GMT 7 Dec 91*

[By David Greybe]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 7 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] would have to accept the shock appointment of Chris Hani as the South African Communist Party's [SACP] new general secretary, ANC National Chairman [title as received] Walter Sisulu said on Saturday.

He spoke exclusively to SAPA at the SACP's Eighth National Congress, being held outside Johannesburg. Mr Sisulu had come to hear the results of the party's elections for its leadership positions, including Central Committee.

Mr Hani was unanimously appointed by the 413 delegates to replace Joe Slovo as general secretary.

This was despite a recent announcement by the ANC that it would not allow Mr Hani to be relieved of his position as chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK].

Mr Hani also recently announced at a media conference that he was not be available for the post. [sentence as received]

Mr Sisulu denied that the appointment of Mr Hani would cause friction between the two fraternal organisations.

"Perhaps this shows the importance of Chris Hani," Mr Sisulu told SAPA.

"It is true that the ANC wanted Hani very seriously. They did not want him to take positions other than those positions which the ANC was going to give him.

"But once the congress of the Communist Party meets it is its prerogative to appoint a man they've got confidence in, and we granted them that right.

"It's an independent organisation, it must take it's own decision," Mr Sisulu said, adding: "We are hopeful that the cooperation will be as strong as it has been."

Despite the earlier decision of the ANC National Executive Committee not to allow Mr Hani to leave MK, Mr Sisulu said the situation had now changed: "I think we must accept the position as has been decided by the congress.

"There will be discussions of the situation, but there will be no friction about it."

ANC-SACP Relationship 'Appears Even Stronger'

MB0812151391 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 8 Dec 91 p 1

[By SunStar reporters]

[Text] The close relationship between the ANC [African National Congress] and the SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP] appears even stronger than before and can only retard the growth of the ANC's membership—because of the often-cited reason of ties with communism.

Of the 25 communists elected to the SACP central committee at the party's eighth annual congress which ended in Johannesburg yesterday, 16 also hold some of the highest membership positions in the ANC.

The new committee also reflects stronger links with the labour unions.

The election result could give the ANC unending problems of diminishing membership. The organisation's leadership is on record as acknowledging that its unwieldy relationship with the SACP is hampering its own recruitment drive.

The "coloured" community of the Western Cape, in particular, has been targeted for the ANC's recruitment after Nelson Mandela admitted that growth in some communities was slow, and ties with the SACP were singled out as a possible handicap.

The election of Allan Boesak to the chairmanship of the ANC's Western Cape region was a deliberate move to attract "coloured" support, some of whose members had

openly stated their strong objection to communist and "un-Christian" ties with the SACP.

A surprise during the SACP elections was the defeat of Natal midlands strongman Harry Gwala, who came in with 332 votes as compared to the 339 of Blades Nzimande. Mr Gwala, a hardliner, is regional chairman of the Natal Midlands region of the ANC. Mr Nzimande is a member of the SACP's regional executive, also in the Midlands.

The candidate who polled the most was Jeremy Cronin, with 407. Others with dual membership on the central committee are Ronnie Kasrils (400), Sydney Mufamadi (387), John Gomomo (385), John Nkademeng (365), Billy Nair (361), Sizakeze Sigxashe (329), Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (324), Jenny Schreiner (291), Sam Shilowa (285), Tony Yengeni (283), January Masilela (276), Thenjiwe Mthintso (266), Stan Nkosi (258), Brian Bunting (258), Govan Mbeki (252), Matthew Makhalima (251) and Nosizwe Madlala (248).

Other members are COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Union] vice-present Chris Dlamini (392), Numsa [National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa] general secretary Moses Mayekiso (350), outgoing treasurer Essop Pahad (329), Raymond Suttner (321), and Garth Strachan (267).

Earlier it was announced that the new general secretary is Chris Hani, Joe Slovo becomes National "Chairperson", Charles Nqakula was elected deputy general secretary and Raymond Mhlaba deputy chairperson. Kay Moon-samy is the treasurer.

Reportage on ANC Views on 'Black Christmas' Call

PWV Region Rules Against Boycott

MB0412063191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2135 GMT 3 Dec 91

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 3 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region will not support calls for a "black Christmas"—a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses over the festive season.

This was decided at a meeting of the ANC's Regional Executive Committee on Tuesday night, spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa told SAPA.

Mr Mamoepa said the regional leadership believed the community deserved a break from mass action.

"We believe our people should be accorded the opportunity to celebrate Christmas and New Year in a spirit of goodwill and to use that period to regain their strength and dedication to launch higher forms of mass action in the new year."

The community had been involved in the national campaign against Value Added Tax and it would be

difficult to organise a national consumer boycott in the short space of time left before Christmas, Mr Mamoea said.

The decision was also based on the fact that the campaign "was not sufficiently canvassed beyond our structures and may cause more confusion and unnecessary conflict".

Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] is the only political organisation fully committed to a black Christmas. The organisation's stance is that the black community has nothing to celebrate.

Northern Transvaal Opposes Boycott

MB0412150391 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1304 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Pietersburg Dec 4 SAPA—The African National Congress' [ANC] northern transvaal region has distanced itself from a call, made by the Azanian People's Organisation [Azapo], for a national consumer boycott from December 16 until January 16.

In a statement issued on Wednesday morning, Mr Stanley Motimele, the ANC's regional media officer said:

"While we have always supported any form of mass action to fight against all injustices, it is our view that a consumer boycott during this period will only generate tensions amongst our people and foment conflict and violence.

"We feel we need to approach the festive season in a spirit of goodwill and against the backdrop of the National Peace Accord and other developments," Mr Motimele added.

"We therefore call on our members and supporters and all those who want lasting peace and democracy to approach the festive season with the aforementioned spirit in the entire region."

Mr Motimele said his organisation and the ANC Youth League wished to clarify their position to the public as there appeared to be confusion as to the ANC's role in the action.

Azapo media liaison officer Mr Khangale Makhado could not be contacted for comment. The call for the boycott was made by Azapo last Friday [29 November].

'Restraint,' 'Vigilance' Urged

MB0612052291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2019 GMT 5 Dec 91

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 5 SAPA—Mindful that violence in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region might escalate during the Christmas period, the African National Congress [ANC] and the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal [CAST] have called for restraint and vigilance amongst the public.

In a statement on Thursday, the ANC region said although it had called on people to celebrate the festive period in a spirit of goodwill, "we believe this must take

place within the overall context of extreme vigilance of agents of death squads who continue to prowl our residential areas with a sense of impunity".

The statement also said the branch unequivocally disassociated itself from calls for a consumer boycott.

"The masses of our people have been engaged in a major campaign against VAT [value-added tax] recently and any campaign against VAT must be located within the VAT Co-ordinating Committee."

Health Minister on 'Restricted' Private Practice

MB1012145391 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1215
GMT 10 Dec 91

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: SA [South African] Communication Service: press release by Dr E. H. Venter, MP [member of Parliament], minister of national health and of health service and welfare; House of Assembly, regarding restricted medical private practice]

[Text] As a result of the government's concern regarding the exodus of highly qualified staff from academic and other state hospitals, it has been decided to allow restricted private practice to these persons, subject to certain conditions.

Details regarding the implementation of the government's decision will be made available to the relevant institutions shortly.

It is with thanks and appreciation that the government takes note of the unselfish devotion with which the specialists and other health personnel in full-time employment of the state render their services under very difficult circumstances. Pretoria 10 December 1991

Defense Force To Deploy in Hillbrow Before 25 Dec

MB0612093491 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 0500 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] The defense force is to deploy troops in Hillbrow to help fight rampant crime in the area.

A Witwatersrand command spokesman said commandos from the unit will be deployed in Hillview before Christmas. He said the decision to send in the troops had been taken at a meeting earlier this week between the military, the police, and the city councilor for Hillbrow. Desiree Simpson:

Mrs. Simpson said crime in the area had risen alarmingly and that thousands of people were living on the streets of Hillbrow.

Press Reviews of Current Events, Issues

RSA Press Review for 9 Dec

MB0912120291

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

ANC Must Shed Ideological Baggage—The "serious purpose" of President F.W. de Klerk's "has escaped his more superficial critics," writes the page 28 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 8 December. "The key to understanding his purpose is to be found in the fact that his journey ends, so to speak, in the first round of constitutional negotiations on December 20. His travels are...a preparation for the conflict which negotiation is bound to produce." While there has been a noticeable convergence of views of the ANC and the National Party "conceals some intractable differences, especially on questions that concern the protection of minorities and the limitation of the power of central government." On economic issues the National Party is closer to the mainstream of modern thinking abroad while the ANC "is still trying to shake off its totalitarian socialist heritage". "The truth of the matter is that, whatever the past sins of apartheid, when it comes to securing democracy, individual liberty, as security of private property, the ANC is hampered by its ideological baggage: revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, centralised power, vanguard role, and similar tenets of the totalitarian core of socialist thinking. Mr De Klerk, on the other hand, has managed to shed the ideological baggage of apartheid. He can safely appear before the world's leaders in order to persuade them that he is the man to lead South Africa back into the community of civilised people—a community that, in Western perceptions, excludes Cuba's Fidel Castro, Libya's Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, and the PLO's Yasir 'Arafat." The success of De Klerk's previous trips abroad has "undermined sanctions, and shift pressure on to the ANC, but, more important, it has given him the credibility he will need when, inevitably, he must tell the ANC he rejects its view of the future. That is the moment when he will call on understanding and trust from the foreigners he has been courting".

SACP Out of Touch—In a second editorial, the SUNDAY TIMES note that the South African Communist Party's congress "turned out to be more curious than ominous". The appointment of Chris Hani as general secretary was "an act of desperation" which "followed weeks of fruitless search for an alternative". The congress' repeated affirmations of "Marxist-Leninist purity" only "reinforced the impression that the party is now totally out of touch with reality". While there were many familiar faces in attendance "more interesting was the list of absentees, among them former central committee member Thabo Mbeki and rising ANC stars like Mohammed Valli Moosa. Lawyer and writer Albie Sachs, and most leading trade unionists, just didn't turn up. It all added up to something less than a fearsome revolution".

SUNDAY STAR

Mandela at the UN: Cold Comfort—"Having himself acknowledged only two months ago at the Commonwealth conference in Harare that sanctions were devastating the South African economy, Mr Mandela opted

instead for the official ANC line when he addressed the UN. He favoured a phased lifting of the embargoes—with economic sanctions disappearing only after the establishment of an interim government," writes Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 8 December in its page 12 editorial. While his UN address might appeal to ANC functionaries, "it is cold comfort to millions of unemployed and the huge numbers of school-leavers this year who have scant chance of finding jobs. Even Mr Mandela, surely, recognises that the negotiations process has now developed a momentum of its own with the need for sanctions to prod the Government to the table. Surely he does not think Mr de Klerk could abort the peace process once sanctions are lifted. For every day that South Africa is denied access to international capital markets, including IMF and World Bank resources, it suffers another day of stifled growth, high unemployment, anger, frustration and rampant violence." "If there is one South African commanding the moral authority to cut through the ANC's unwieldy sanctions policy, it is Mr Mandela." However, by the time he gets around to it, "he could find there are no investors" because with the political upheavals in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, new opportunities for investors are arising daily, "and the investors are not unaware".

THE STAR

Police, Defense Force To Curb Hillbrow Crime Rate—A page 10 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 9 December notes that more policemen have been deployed in Hillbrow to curb the crime rate, and "the Defence Force has agreed to lend a hand." "There should be no quarrel over the use of troops for this purpose. As an SADF [South African Defense Force] spokesman has pointed out, army commandos have proved their value in fighting crime elsewhere. Their services are desperately needed in Hillbrow, especially to tackle the high incidence of violence."

BUSINESS DAY

ANC Must Address Economic Reparations Perception—"Mandela and his senior colleagues might well realise that South Africa needs to step back from overtly socialist policies if it is to attract investment or loans from abroad," warns a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 9 December. "But that might be irrelevant if it ignores opinion on the ground. Many blacks, conceivably a substantial majority, resent what they see as the perpetuation of white wealth and privilege. Nationalisation and wealth taxes are seen as two means of redressing perceived imbalances." "Five or ten years down the line the effects of nationalisation might be intolerable. That, though, is probably of little relevance to a black South African who wants to see whites suffer or the commanding heights of the economy transferred to 'the people'. And it is this perception which needs to be addressed, rather than a simple repetition of the economic shibboleths of free choice and free markets."

Home Ownership 'Handouts'—A second editorial on the same page notes that the Transvaal Provincial Administration has "accepted in principle the Metropolitan Chamber's decision that 104,000 of the older houses in Soweto be given free to occupiers." "Of course, there are wider implications of a give-away. There will be disputes about who has claim to the house, and justifiable complaints from people who have paid for their homes, only to see neighbors get them free." The authorities should "maintain the emphasis on rights to opportunity and self-fulfilment rather than handouts."

SOWETAN

ANC Pressed To State Economic Policy—"Arguments that the SACP is an independent organisation do not hold water," given the relationship between the ANC and the SACP, declares Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 9 December in a page 10 editorial. "The SACP's renewed commitment to socialism puts the spotlight on the ANC, which must now say what its broad economic policy is." Furthermore, "the ANC could be tomorrow's Government or, if statements by the Government and the ANC itself are anything to go by, will be in an interim government in the new year. This, more than anything, weighs heavily on the ANC to give us its economic guidelines." The ANC "must at this stage be able to tell the country, its membership and investors if it is also going the socialist way; or distance itself from such talk. Coming back to the the SACP, its fixation on socialism is astonishing. Yes, there has to be redistribution. In addition, the 'haves' will have to bleed a lot for the social restructuring that must set this country to a new future. However, socialism as a means of redistributing wealth is a non-starter. Ask the people in Russia, Poland, Mozambique, Tanzania or Angola."

CAPE TIMES

Organizations See Need for Political Restraint—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 5 December in a page 5 editorial says "prospects for stability in South Africa have always been inextricably linked to the economy and as the old era draws to a close it is becoming thankfully evident that most of the key players in the transition process recognise the need for political restraint when it comes to economic policy. The ANC has served notice that its support for sanctions is almost at an end and both the Cape and the PWV [Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging] regional executives of the organisation yesterday declined to back calls for a boycott of white-owned businesses over the festive season. Tellingly, the belief that the majority of the population deserves a break was cited as one of the reasons for rejection."

RSA Press Review for 10 Dec

MB1012121491

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

SACP To Lead Country To Economic Ruin—Johannesburg's THE STAR in English on 10 December in a page 16 editorial says the South African Communist Party, SACP, "promises to follow Lenin down the path to political intolerance and economic ruin from which the Soviet republics are trying to extricate themselves." "Unfortunately, it is not the fate of the SACP alone that is at stake, the party seems determined to use its strategic alliance with the ANC to force its outmoded ideology upon the country."

BUSINESS DAY

ANC's Raising of Economic Policy-Making Priority Welcome—The African National Congress, ANC, "would be looking even more lackadaisical on economics than it does already were it not for the matching interregnum in government economic policy-making caused by the death of Wim de Villiers," points out a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 10 December, "It has done the country no good, of course, to have a simultaneous economic policy hiatus in both government and extra-parliamentary opposition. Without a technocrat in the Cabinet, government policy on privatisation, protection and decentralisation lost direction—a problem addressed last week by the appointment of Derek Keys to the Cabinet. ANC economic policy, meanwhile, was made in a series of maverick and ad hoc pronouncements that often caused consternation in the markets and perplexed friend and foe alike." Therefore, the ANC's schedule of economic policy workshops in the new year, culminating in a major conference in March 1992, is "a welcome raising of economic policy's priority within the organisation."

SOWETAN

Call for Ban on Political Rallies—"There is just no doubt about it: The Government and those interested in negotiating a new constitution must ban political rallies for the time being," declares the page 8 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 10 December. "Things are so serious that we think all political gatherings—over a certain size perhaps—should be stopped until the violence is contained. Violence is working against negotiations, against all black people, against the country. We realise that calling for the banning of political gatherings is a heavy step. It is against that sort of oppression that we have fought all these years. But this is an emergency. What is at stake here is the future of our country. It is time for radical measures." "While we do not believe it will serve any purpose accusing Inkatha alone for the violence, it is the unmistakable reality that too often their rallies are accompanied by or end in violence."

Angola**UNITA Political Commission Conference Ends**

MB0712212091 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 7 Dec 91

[Text] The ordinary session of the Political Commission of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, UNITA, ended in Luanda today. The commission urged the Angolan people to believe in the peace process and in the advent of better days once the September 1992 elections are held.

A final declaration issued at the end of the meeting points out that UNITA is for peace and democracy. The declaration condemned the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola's, MPLA's, fallacious claims that UNITA wants to seize power by force.

The final declaration was read by UNITA information chief Dr. Jorge Valentim:

[Begin Valentim recording] The Political Commission condemns the paralyzation of the Joint Political and Military Commission, CCPM, and blames this on the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. The Political Commission hereby warns that UNITA will strictly adhere to the timetable contained in the peace accords signed in Lisbon on 31 May 1991.

The Political Commission condemns the unpatriotic maneuvers aimed at granting Angolan citizenship to foreigners who have allegedly rendered relevant services to the Government of the People's Republic of Angola during the war.

The Political Commission demands that the Government of the People's Republic of Angola take clear and unequivocal steps in connection with the return of all Angolan youths who are in Cuba against their will and against the will of their parents.

The Political Commission condemns the transfer to the police force of entire People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola units and other units that had been reported missing. Moreover, the Political Commission demands that in line with the peace accords, UNITA elements should be integrated into the police force, and that the latter's neutrality should be guaranteed. [end recording]

During the meeting, UNITA also condemned the government's political and military stands on Cabinda and demanded that troops should leave the province and return to the assembly areas. According to Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the troops were sent to Cabinda Province ('in violation' of the peace accords.

Savimbi's Bei Residence Reportedly Attacked 5 Dec

MB0612093991 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] Officers of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA], the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA], and of the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 held an emergency session in Bie city yesterday to discuss issues related to a Minse [Ministry of State Security] operation against the residence of Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola.

The operation came to light when at 0100 on 5 December, armed men surrounded the presidential residence under the pretext that they had earlier delivered lethal equipment and top secret documents to the residence. The operation failed because FAPLA failed to cooperate. FAPLA units fled in disarray when they (?saw) an FALA garrison.

Meanwhile, our Bie correspondent reports that several shots were fired at the residence. He says that the situation in Bie city is tense.

Botswana**President Masire Visits United Kingdom**

WA0612174491

For reportage on the official visit by President Dr. Quett Masire to the United Kingdom, please see the United Kingdom section of the 5 December West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Namibia**Chiluba Urges Debt Forgiveness for Zambia, Namibia**

MB0512100891 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0927 GMT 5 Dec 91

[By Carmen Honey]

[Text] Windhoek Dec 5 SAPA—Zambian President Frederick Chiluba on Thursday appealed for the international community to write off the debts of Africa's new "fragile democracies" of Namibia and Zambia.

He told a media briefing at State House that Namibia's new SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] government had inherited from South Africa debts of R[and]700 million.

"To ask them to continue to pay that is like finding them guilty of introducing democratic government," Mr Chiluba said, adding he felt the debts had mounted because there had been no accountability.

"We inherited seven billion US dollars indebtedness in Zambia.

"That is something like 1,000 US dollars for every Zambian, all of it from outside, and the people for whom it was borrowed never benefitted from it because there was no accountability," he said.

Mr Chiluba said new democracies needed a hand of friendship from those nations to show their appreciation for what was being achieved.

"We believe that writing these off would be the best possible scenario, the best possible option to help us to start somewhere and not to be held back by the indebtedness which has been there too long and for which we may not even account," he said.

Mr Chiluba thanked UK Prime Minister John Major for Britain's offer to write off bilateral debts, but added there was difficulty with multilateral debts.

"It would be a boost if the nations outside wrote off what was outstanding so as to give us a fresh start.

"And how much we need that fresh start now," he added.

Zambia

Chiluba Pledges Accountability, Privatization

MB0612161991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0833 GMT 6 Dec 91

[Text] Lusaka Dec 6 SAPA—Zambian President Frederick Chiluba has pledged to refurbish Zambia's credit-worthy image impaired by the government of defeated President Kenneth Kaunda by honouring conditions laid down by the international donor community.

Addressing the European Community, African Development Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Bank and representatives of Lusaka-based donor agencies in Lusaka on Thursday night, Mr Chiluba said his office was taking direct control to monitor and implement aid flow into Zambia.

"Accountability and good governance are our key words and we intend to take off from there and restore confidence in donor agencies and lending institutions."

He regretted the relations with the IMF and the World Bank had deteriorated from March this year, just at the time major pledges to overhaul the economy were made.

The sour ties had been a result of broken promises by the fallen government to honour its part in aid transactions.

That trend had plunged Zambia into an "economic paradox" that received aid that was four times above Asian countries' aid and twice that of the sub-Saharan Africa but where living standards progressively deteriorated into poverty.

The 48-year-old Zambian leader said the situation had to be redressed and announced that his government would soon table its proposed policies to rejuvenate the confidence into the economy and attract foreign investment.

Reiterating that privatisation would be the fulcrum to make the economy tick, Mr Chiluba said all monopolies including insurance and building institutions would be dismantled and assured donors that privatisation would take root in the next five years.

The dean of the donor agencies, Swedish Ambassador Per Taxell, said the new Zambian Government would not be judged by the standards of the fallen government.

He indicated that debt relief extended to Zambia was not enough for a country that was rated as one of the poorest to emerge from its economic doldrums.

Repatriation of Angolan Refugees Suspended

MB1112110991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1021 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] Lusaka Dec 11 SAPA—The repatriation of 52,000 Angolan refugees from Zambia has been suspended because Angola was still unsafe, according to UN Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) resident representative Mr Stefan Bergland. He confirmed in Lusaka on Wednesday [11 December] that the exercise had been halted because most of Angola was infested with landmines, making it unsafe for returnees.

An understanding between President F.W. de Klerk and UNHCR had been concluded where an amnesty in principle was in place for all returnees, although it was not yet legislated. The situation had fulfilled the returning of exiles back to South Africa "in safety and dignity". "UNHCR has a policy of repatriating refugees and exiles in dignity and safety. Dignity is there (in Angola) but safety is absent."

Mr Bergland said the exercise would be resumed next April to give a chance to the Angolan ruling party and Dr Jonas Savimbi's UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement to sort out outstanding issues before refugees returned home.

In a revived repatriation of African National Congress (ANC) exiles, the UNHCR said it would despatch the remaining 900 in two weeks' time.

Immigration and police officers would round up all illegal aliens and deport them regardless of their country of origin. Immigration Office public relations officer Paul Mulu said in Lusaka the law was not discriminatory and would see to it that everyone without proper documents allowing him to be in Zambia was deported.

Railway Strike Leads to 'Colossal' Losses*MB1112171391 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 11 Dec 91*

[Text] The Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority, or Tazara, lost about 1 million dollars in revenue during last week's work stoppage by employees demanding higher wages. The over 1,000 strikers returned to work on Monday.

The Tazara regional manager for Zambia, Mr. Morrison Banda, confirmed that the strikers were back at work. He described the loss of revenue as colossal.

The strike by Tazara employees followed a demand for higher wages and improved conditions of service, including an end-of-the-year bonus. Mr. Banda said passenger and goods trains on the Tanzania-Zambia Railway were stopped during the strike.

Zimbabwe**Zambia's Chiluba Arrives in Harare 9 Dec***MB1012071491 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] President Chiluba arrived in Harare, Zimbabwe on a rainy afternoon today but to a rousing welcome to continue his tour of Frontline States. Mr. Chiluba, accompanied by his wife, Vera, was met at the Harare International Airport by host President Robert Mugabe; Zambia's high commissioner to Zimbabwe, Mr. [name indistinct]; and diplomats who braved the rain to welcome the Zambian president.

According to ZNBC [Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation] correspondent Dominic Chimanya covering the presidential visit, Mr. Chiluba was treated to a red carpet welcome and later inspected the guard of honor (?of the) Zimbabwean Army.

This afternoon, Mr. Chiluba and his counterpart, Mr. Mugabe, held closed-door talks at State House.

According to [words indistinct] in Harare, Mr. Chiluba will this evening attend a reception to be hosted by Mr. Mugabe at State House.

Mr. Chiluba will tomorrow visit the Zambia High Commission and later attend a reception at the commissioner's residence. He leaves for Malawi at midday.

Says Relations 'Pretty Good'*MB1012071591 Johannesburg SABA in English
1945 GMT 9 Dec 91*

[Text] Harare Dec 9 SABA—Zambian President Frederick Chiluba said his official announcement that his country would openly trade with South Africa did not compromise Zambia's stance on apartheid, Zimbabwe's national news ZIANA reports.

He told reporters after meeting Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe on Monday that his country would stand with all the others in the region which opposed apartheid.

The talks with Mr Mugabe had centred on bilateral relations but had also touched on the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

The Zambian president said good relations existed between Zambia and Zimbabwe following the electoral defeat of former President Kenneth Kaunda, a close ally of Mr Mugabe. Mr Chiluba described relations between two countries as "pretty good".

Notes Zambia's Frontline Role*MB1212073691 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 11 Dec 91*

[Report on interview with Zambian President Chiluba by reporter Trevor Grundy on Chiluba's visit to Zimbabwe and his views on Zambia's role in the Frontline States; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Zambia will remain a member of the so-called Frontline States but will keep a close watch on the political changes in South Africa, says Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba. He added that Lusaka would host a Frontline summit early next year.

Mr. Chiluba has just visited Zimbabwe and he's to complete a tour of the Frontline States with visits to Malawi, Angola, Botswana, and Mozambique. Reporting on the Zambian head of state's stopover in Harare is Trevor Grundy:

[Begin recording] [Grundy] President Chiluba watched Zambian children perform a kind of play in which one young girl represented the spirit of the people. Why are we so poor when we were born with a copper spoon in our mouth, asked the child. The spirit of Zambia replied with considerable female aplomb that the third republic could solve all problems facing the country if the people would only work hard. The president, flanked by his foreign minister, Vernon Mwaanga, nearly smiled.

He told his often applauding countrymen that the Movement for Multiparty Democracy had won the 31 October election in Zambia with the slogan: The hour has come. But the president pointed out that the Zambian experiment was not necessarily for export, but explained that Zambians had been left choiceless after 27 years of virtual one-man rule under Dr. Kenneth Kaunda.

[Chiluba] Something had to be done. First, we had to ensure that the government changed. You can never change the economy if you are in the government, the same people whose philosophies will not allow that economy to change. So we were left choiceless. We had to say this for political pluralism, that we believe [words indistinct]. And we had to fight to ensure that with our

bare hands casting the ballot paper rather than taking a gun to shoot for the answer.

We formed that party, and this party is less than one year old, but marvelously, it seems we are pushing an open door. Everybody in Zambia was waiting for a change.

[Grundy] Before he left for Malawi, President Chiluba said that the Frontline States would continue to function and were gearing themselves toward playing a useful role in southern Africa throughout next year.

[Chiluba] The chairmanship will be decided at a meeting to be held in Lusaka shortly, shortly—I mean, around next month.

[Unidentified reporter] And did you discuss the future of the Frontline States and the changes in South Africa?

[Chiluba] Yes, certainly we did. And we believe that the whole political dispensation taking place in South Africa must be accorded all the aid it requires from us, and as usual the Frontline States will take that leading role in ensuring that peaceful change takes place there.

[Grundy] President Chiluba also plans to visit Angola, Mozambique, and Botswana during his Frontline State familiarization tour which will allow various African heads of states to take a close look at the Zambian who ended the long and often remarkable career of Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. [end recording]

Departs Harare for Malawi 10 Dec

*MB1012164191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1437 GMT 10 Dec 91*

[Text] Harare Dec 10 SAPA—Zambian President Frederick Chiluba, who was in Zimbabwe on a two-day visit, left for Malawi on Tuesday for the third leg of his familiarisation tour of nine southern African states.

The ZIANA news agency reports that Mr Chiluba, who came to power last month following an election victory against former President Kenneth Kaunda, had already been to Namibia.

President Chiluba was seen off at Harare International Airport by his Zimbabwean counterpart Robert Mugabe, government ministers and members of the diplomatic corps. While in Harare, Mr Chiluba held private talks with Mr Mugabe on wide-ranging regional issues of mutual concern.

On his Zimbabwean tour, the Zambian leader was accompanied by his wife Vera, Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga and several senior government officials.

Before his departure Chiluba was entertained by a variety of traditional dancers who had gathered at the airport to see him off. Later he inspected a guard of honour mounted by the Presidential Guard after which he bade farewell to Mr Mugabe.

From Malawi Mr Chiluba is expected to visit Tanzania, and later Angola, Botswana and Mozambique.

Foreign Minister Warns Against Optimism on RSA

*MB1112062691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1935 GMT 10 Dec 91*

[Text] Harare Dec 10 SAPA—Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira on Tuesday cautioned against too much optimism in the commitment of the [Republic of] South African [RSA] Government to the creation of a non-racial democratic society, the national news agency ZIANA reports.

"In such a fast changing situation it is easy for the people to be fooled by the emerging pattern which may not be a lasting pattern," Mr Shamuyarira said, addressing the opening session of the Africa Fund Committee.

Mr Shamuyarira said the situation in South Africa had changed since the formation of the fund. When the fund was established, it was envisaged that it would be used as a tool to force the South African Government to go to the negotiating table.

He said a patriotic front had been formed and a meeting to lay the ground for constitutional talks had been scheduled for December 20.

Mr Shamuyarira said the Africa Fund, set up by the Non-Aligned Movement to express solidarity with anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, should remain intact because it still had a part to play in the fight against apartheid and racial oppression.

"We believe that there is still an important task for the fund to perform," he said.

However, in a speech later, the chairman of the fund, Mr Shri Mehrotra, said the fund is facing financial problems because of the diminishing aid.

"The resource position of the fund is much worse than what it was when senior officials met in Kuala Lumpur in May 1991," he told the meeting.

Delegates observed a minute of silence in memory of assassinated former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, an influential figure in the NAM.

It was Mr Gandhi who had tabled the resolution for the formation of the Africa Fund at the Non-Aligned summit in 1986.

The fund was launched as a political initiative to express worldwide solidarity and support for the Frontline States and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa.

On South African exiles, Mr Shamuyarira said their repatriation should not be left only to those countries that had given them shelter.

Burkina Faso

Compaore Campaign Headquarters Issues Statement

AB0612100891 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale
du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 4 Dec 91

[Text] Blaise Compaore's presidential campaign headquarters issued a communique this afternoon on the 1 December election. Let us review this communique with you, Lom Sadogbo:

[Sadogbo] In this communique, the presidential campaign officials first made it a point to thank the democrats; all those who came out in their numbers on 1 December to show their attachment to Blaise Compaore. According to the communique, the results released by the Electoral Commission represent a victory for candidate Blaise Compaore at two levels: first, in regard to the number of votes cast—86.41 percent—which, according to the electoral code, exceeds the required electoral majority; second, Blaise Compaore's determination to hold these elections with openness and fairness despite acts of sabotage and attempts to deadlock and disorganize the democratic process. The foreign observers who came to Ouagadougou observed this.

The second point the communique underlined was the rate of participation in the polls. It appears certain enemies of democracy, notably the Coordination of Democratic Forces [CFD] are trying to capitalize on these rates in order to mislead honest citizens owing to their ignorance about electoral mechanisms. According to the communique, the problem of participation has always existed in the world but has never called the legitimacy of any election into question.

Here are some examples: In 1978, Sangoule Lamizana was elected president by 14.54 percent of registered voters. In France, Pompidou was elected in 1969 with a 37.5 percent rate of participation. Even in Europe, a participation rate of 10 percent has been noted in certain elections, and 37 percent in the United States.

According to the communique, therefore, those who saw this as a [word indistinct] could have taken part in the election. This would have enabled everyone to measure his degree of popularity. The CFD's inability to mobilize over 5 percent of the population forced it to choose to boycott the election.

One of the reasons given by campaign officials for this rate of participation is the absence of a challenge factor since there was only one candidate. This situation enabled supporters to vote for only one candidate. Another fundamental intellectual theory supported by CFD activists is that the polls were in violation of the electoral code. According to the presiding officers at some polling stations, voters' cards were replaced by referendum ballot papers. This happened in Bobo-Dioulasso. In this regard, the communique cited some names, among them, Alphonse Ouedraogo, an official

expelled from the transition government, who orchestrated acts of vandalism in Bobo-Dioulasso.

In the face of all these violations, the communique called on the Justice Ministry to take its responsibility to investigate and punish all those who prevented some citizens from exercising their voting rights. The communique further stated that one of the reasons for this prevailing situation was excessive respect for the law by the steering committee in charge of the presidential campaign, as it allowed some CFD activists to tour villages a few days before the elections to threaten, intimidate, and even announce the postponement of the elections.

That is why, in its conclusion, the communique called on all active progressive forces to mobilize themselves to avoid being deceived by [words indistinct].

In a response to a question on Blaise Compaore's feelings about the results, the campaign director said his morale was intact, and this statement reassured his supporters.

Government Statement on Attacks, Official's Death

AB1012155791 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale
du Burkina Radio in French 1300 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Statement by People's Defense and Security Minister Ouangraoua Lassane, issued in Ouagadougou on 10 December—recorded]

[Text] People of Burkina Faso: Yesterday, 9 December, at about 2000, enemies of our young democracy and of our people committed a hideous and abominable crime in which an illustrious Burkinabe patriot, Oumarou Clement Ouedraogo, secretary general of the Burkinabe Labor Party [PTB], was killed.

Among others, the deceased held high political offices in the management of state machinery. At the time of the attack, he was in the company of a female relative who was wounded seriously and rushed to hospital where she is currently under treatment. Simultaneously with this hideous crime, an attack was also made on Tall Moctar, external relations secretary of the Group of Revolutionary Democrats [GDR], who sustained severe bullet wounds and was rushed to the hospital where he is now out of danger. Attempted attacks were also made on the houses of some political leaders.

These criminal acts, which we vehemently deplore and condemn, can only be the work of revengeful and sinister individuals seeking to jeopardize the ongoing democratic process in our country. Otherwise, why is it that at the very time when our young democracy has made an important step in its history and at the very time that the head of state was addressing a message of reconciliation to the state on peace, harmony and unity, some embittered individuals chose to commit their crime in a bid to jeopardize the gains of our people in their move to achieve real democracy?

On our part, and in view of all that has happened, we reaffirm that neither violence nor intimidation can serve as the means of solving the main problems of the Burkinabe people. That is why all security measures have already been taken to hunt down these criminals and their accomplices who will be punished according to the law. I therefore call on everyone to be calm and to cooperate with all the security forces of Burkina Faso in order to forestall the sordid maneuvers of these gravediggers of the democratic process in order to safeguard the interests of our people.

Thank you.

Situation Said 'Extremely Tense' in Ouagadougou
AB1112222891 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 11 Dec 91

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] The Government in Burkina Faso has denied responsibility for the attacks which, in the past few days, have killed one opposition leader, Mr. Clement Ouedraogo, and severely injured another, Mr. Tall Mactar. The defense minister, Mr. Ouangraoua Lassane, described the attacks as abominable crimes, which the government deplored and condemned.

However, crowds at Mr. Ouedraogo's funeral yesterday threw stones at the defense minister's car. His bodyguards opened fire in return, reportedly wounding at least three people. Around 20,000 people had gathered for the funeral. A correspondent for the BBC in Ouagadougou says the situation is extremely tense, with many people accusing the government of being behind the attacks. The opposition has been calling on President Blaise Compaore to step down and make way for a national conference on the country's political future.

Legislative Elections Canceled; Spokesman Comments
LD1212145191 Paris Radio France International
in French 0630 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Excerpts] In Burkina Faso over the last 48 hours—in other words, after the wave of attacks against the leaders of the opposition—tension between the government and the opposition had been raised a notch, with the opposition coordinating committee yesterday declaring itself ready to go as far as confrontation if necessary. Then suddenly there was a gesture of goodwill from the government, which is canceling the legislative elections set for 9 January. This was the lead item of the television news yesterday evening. I remind you that, as for the presidential elections of 1 December, the opposition wants the legislative elections to be preceded by a national conference. [passage omitted]

Yesterday, even before the announcement of the postponement of next month's elections, the Burkinabe government was saying that the use of violence would

not affect the democratic process in the country. Listen to Burkinabe government spokesman Idrissa Zampaligre, who is being questioned by Thierry Perret. Mr. Zampaligre was in Dakar for the Islamic Conference Organization summit:

[Begin recording] [Zampaligre] The government is keen that the democratic process should be able to continue and deepen, and that all the legal institutions should be established and be able to operate to guarantee democracy and individual and collective freedom.

[Perret] While waiting for other elements to come to light, who would have an interest in such an incident as the murder of an opposition leaders?

[Zampaligre] I believe the investigation will determine that. But the first response we can give is that it is not the government. After the message issued by the comrade president, a message of reconciliation, which announces a certain number of measures aimed at soothing the national political atmosphere... [changes thought] I say that it is not the government which might have any interest in such an action. [end recording]

Liberia

Opposition Leader Returns From Exile, Comments
AB1012141291 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 10 Dec 91

[Text] A founding member of the Liberian Action Party [LAP], Mrs. Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, says that Liberia needs a committed government that will decentralize development programs and respect the rights of its people. She said during the ensuing general elections, Liberians should elect a government that will be dedicated and responsive to the needs of the Liberian people.

Mrs. Sirleaf, according to LINA [LIBERIAN NEWS AGENCY], said Liberians can achieve socioeconomic and infrastructural development that will work for the general welfare of the nation. She made the statement Sunday, [8 December], when she spoke to reporters at the James Spriggs Payne Airfield upon arrival from the United States, where she has been in exile since 1986.

She said in the process of building a democratic society, Liberians should not elect a military oriented government that will hinder their free movement in the country and exercise their constitutional rights without fear and intimidation. [sentence as heard]

Further Johnson-Sirleaf Comments

AB1012150091 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 9 Dec 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The relative political stability of Liberia at the moment is leading exiles to return home. The latest is

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, a prominent member of the former Liberian Action Party, who stood as a senatorial candidate in the 1985 elections. She has been in exile in a well-paid job in the United States for the past six years. She frequently attacked the late President Doe and briefly and controversially supported Charles Taylor. On the line to Monrovia, Ruth Folby asked Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf whether she had returned there for good:

[Begin recording] [Johnson-Sirleaf] At this point in time, no. I am on a one-week visit, essentially to identify with all of the groups that have been part of the peace process, to work with the Liberian Action Party in its reactivation to work with all the other parties to ensure and help to promote the peace process, to identify with the Liberian people, understand their need by seeing it, and to see how we can all, as we stay in Liberia, join hands and work toward a reconciliation, national unity, and the reconstruction of our country.

[Folby] But why did you choose this moment to come back to Liberia? Why not six months ago or a year ago?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] Well, I should have done this a long time ago; a year ago or six months ago might not have been too safe. I do not have to tell you the reasons why. I think the peace process has reached a place where we are all war weary. We want peace. All Liberians want peace. They are tired of war. They are tired of the destruction, and now I think I just feel a bit safer and I feel I just could not delay this return home any longer.

[Folby] What would you say to people who said: Well look, I mean you are an America-Liberian and really we have no place for you any more in Liberia?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] I do not know who will say that. I have found great welcome from the Liberian people. I think they know that I am not a Johnny-come-lately. I have had over 20 years of public service in Liberia. I have made major contributions to the development of Liberia. I have suffered and agonized like many other Liberians who faced difficulties because of their principles and convictions, so I do not expect that to be said and so far I have not experienced that. I lived in America because I had no other choice. I had to do so. I would like to see us put all of that behind us. I would like us to look forward to the future, a future in which we can unite, we can reconcile one with the other, and everything I have seen since I have been here just reinforces my conviction, in fact, that the Liberian people do want all of their people back. They want to see all of their assets and resources at work in their interest.

[Folby] Now, you have in the past been rather cool—it is not very cold—towards Charles Taylor. Does your

return to Monrovia signify a sort of tacit acceptance of Taylor and all the other parties?

[Johnson-Sirleaf] No, it indicates a support, an acceptance of the peace process, the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] peace process and peace plan, and an attempt to identify with that initiative and to support it. I share the view that we must also ask Taylor and every other group, every other leader of combating groups to join this process because it is only when we have total unity that Liberia will make the progress that it deserves. [end recording]

Sierra Leone

Momoh Decries Support for Liberian Rebel Taylor

AB1212112391 Dakar PANA in English 1443 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] Dakar, 11 Dec (PANA)—Sierra Leonean President Joseph Momoh in Dakar on Wednesday, accused some members of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (ICO) of having been callously engaged in training and providing material support "to rebels who invaded his country while extolling the virtues of peaceful co-existence". Momoh did not name the states but observers say one of them could be Burkina Faso, which has been supporting the National Liberation [as received] Front of Liberia (NPFL) led by Charles Taylor. Taylor's forces invaded Sierra Leone from Liberia early in 1991.

The Sierra Leonean president said Taylor's forces had intensified their aggression against his country in violation of the agreement reached in Cote d'Ivoire earlier. The four-point agreement will ensure the removal of Taylor's forces from Sierra Leone and a military buffer zone between Liberia and Sierra Leone to stop cross-border raids.

Recalling the multi-national effort which led to the liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi occupation, Momoh called on the summit to prevail upon those states "backing Taylor and his renegades and bandits to stop doing so". He appealed to the leaders at the summit to assist the country in its hour of need. He expressed appreciation for the assistance given his country by Guinea and Nigeria in particular, "as well as Egypt and Iran in providing humanitarian assistance to thousands" of refugees and displaced persons.

Nigeria and Guinea have sent troops to defend Sierra Leone against the invasion.

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